Google

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

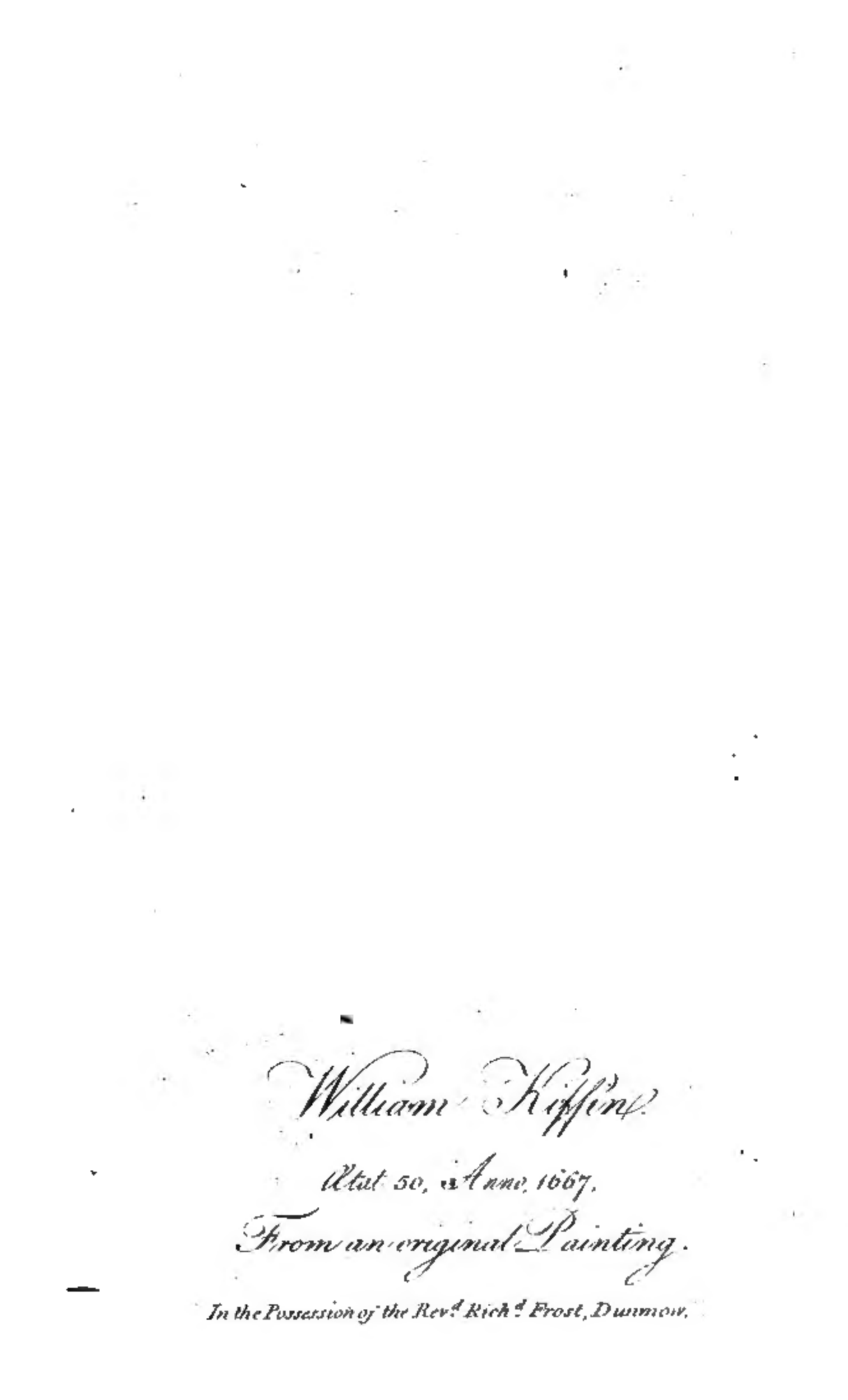
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/

144

James Lenox.

TO NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



William Kiffin.

Ætat 50, Anno 1667.

From an original Painting.

In the Possession of the Revd Richd Frost, Dunmow.

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM KIFFIN:

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, AND EDITED FROM THE

Original Manuscript,

WITH

NOTES AND ADDITIONS,

By WILLIAM ORME.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR BURTON AND SMITH, 156, LEADENHALL STREET;
SOLD ALSO BY SIMPSON AND MARSHALL, STATIONERS COURT;
J. ROBERTSON & CO. PARLIAMENT SQUARE, EDINBURGH;
AND D. MORISON, JUNR. & CO. PERTH.

1823.

LENOX L
NEW YORK

Perth, Printed by R. Morison.

INTRODUCTION.

THE original manuscript, from which the following Memoirs are printed, was communicated to me, some time ago, by the Rev. Richard Frost of Dunmow, in Essex, a lineal descendant of Mr Kiffin. I was requested to examine it with care, and if I deemed it worthy of publicity, to print it; with such notes and additions as I might be able to communicate, in farther illustration of the character of Kiffin, or of the interesting period in which he lived. The task I readily undertook, and ought to have executed it at least a year ago. The chief circumstance which delayed the publication, was my discovering that, though the entire manuscript had not been printed before, considerable use had been made of it, by Noble, in his Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell—by Wilson, in his History of the Dissenting Churches of London, and by Ivimey, in his History of the Baptists. Still, as these works, from their extent or peculiar nature, are limited in their circulation, I thought the worthy Non-conformist ought to appear by himself, and to be allowed to tell his story in his own way.

The appearance of "Peveril of the Peak," confirmed my determination to publish. The attentive reader of that work, who may deign to cast his eye over the following pages, must be struck with various points of resemblance between its puritanical hero, Major Bridgenorth, and the honest and venerable William Kiffin. Both belonged to the same class of religious professors—both made considerable fortunes during the period of civil dudgeon—both exercised their talents in the field, and their gifts in the church—and both were the subjects of heavy domestic misfortunes—involved in religious persecution, or in the calamities of political intrigue. Here, however, I must stop. Bridgenorth is a caricature, the creature of fiction, and designed to ridicule either the profession, or the weaknesses of religious persons. Kiffin is a real character; possessing, it is true, a few peculiarities; but embodying the substantial excellences of Christianity, which the author of the Scottish Novels seems little capable of estimating.

In this last production, indeed, there is a greater tone of moderation in regard to religion, than in some of his former works. There is an admission, that "his Puritan is faintly traced to his Cameronian"—a poor apology for his unrighteous treatment of the patriotic and persecuted covenanters. There is little generosity or justice, in merely misrepresenting the persons of one religious profession,

in a smaller degree than those of another. An honest man who is called a knave, will not be satisfied by hearing his friend called a fool. The author of Peveril still considers "hypocrisy and enthusiasm" (terms in the vocabulary of the world for the religion of the bible,) as fit food for ridicule and satire. "Yet," he says, "I am sensible of the difficulty of holding fanaticism up to laughter or abhorrence, without using colouring which may give offence to the sincerely worthy and religious. Many things are lawful which we are taught are not convenient; and there are many tones of feeling which are too respectable to be insulted, though we do not altogether sympathize with them." If this be not a testimony of homage to truth, it is at least a deference to public feeling: and every step in the return to right thinking and acting ought to be acknowledged with approbation.

It will not be supposed that I have published this small performance for the purpose of illustrating the Novel; or that I have the vanity to expect that it will, to any considerable degree, counteract the tendency of that clever, and, in many respects, mischievous work. It may, however, contribute a little to a better understanding of the times; and also to shew that, in the large body of persons baptized by the names of Bridgenorth, and Solsgrace, and Simon Canter, there was a greater portion of principle, of

loyalty, and of common sense, than they have frequently been supposed to possess.

There is some reason to believe, that an extensive change in the public opinion, respecting the nature of genuine religion, has been silently operating for a considerable time. All the talents are obviously not on the side of infidelity and irreligion. The faith of Christ is not entirely limited to the vulgar and the wretched. It has been adopted in all its peculiarities, and manifested in all its decision, by men of the highest order of intellect, and of the most brilliant parts. It is not so convenient as it once was, to decry seriousness as fanaticism, and religious zeal as madness. It is discovered, that a christian may be a gentleman; and that sourness and grimace have as little connexion with godliness as levity and profaneness.

This change in the public mind appears, among other things, in the increased respect which is shewn to puritanical writings—puritanical characters—and, to what may be called, the puritanical age of English history. Even Oliver Cromwell has ceased to be regarded merely as a hypocrite and a villain; and has found historians and apologists, not only among Dissenters and Whigs, but among Church-men and Tories. The interesting memoirs of various individuals, who lived and acted through that age of turmoil and excitement, have dissipated much of the

ignorance and prejudice which long prevailed on all sides. The account of Colonel Hutchinson, by his learned and accomplished lady, illustrates those religious views and feelings which obtained among the higher class of the Non-conforming Community; and clearly demonstrates, that even among the regicides themselves, there were men actuated by something else than the love of plunder and blood. The memoirs of the virtuous and cultivated Evelyn, have rendered an important service to the church and the cavaliers. Among the latter class, there were evidently better men than Sir Geoffrey;—men who feared God as well as honoured the king; and who rendered more valuable services to the exiled monarch than his gay and dissipated companions.

The "Remarkable Passages in the Life of Kiffin," have no pretensions to equality with the charming effusions of conjugal attachment, or those of the classical and scientific courtier, above referred to. They discover, however, the sentiments and general conduct of another class of persons—the merchants and yeomanry of England, who were the principal actors and sufferers during the civil wars, and the following period. Kiffin, I apprehend, to be a tolerably accurate *fac-simile* of this numerous body:—long respectable for its moral worth, its industrious habits, and its enterprising spirit.

I readily grant, that during the period in which he lived, there were many false pretenders, not a few

wild enthusiasts, and some who made gain by godliness. So there are still. Religion was then also too much associated with contention about things that were trifling, and sometimes even absurd. It was too much clothed in cant phrases, expressed in demure countenances, and exhibited in affectations of dress and manners. These things we neither justify nor applaud. They did not belong exclusively to religious persons. There were then political quacks and nostrums as well as religious ones. There was court and country cant, low and vulgar enough, as well as religious cant. Every age has its peculiar vocabulary; its favourite idioms. In many of these things, we do not sympathize with the men of the seventeenth century; nor will the men of the twentieth perhaps sympathize with us. Many of the puritans would have been singular and eccentric characters, though they had not adopted a religious profession. The fruit partook of the nature of the stock, as well as of the graft; though, as far as its bad qualities are concerned, the latter has improperly received the exclusive blame.

They have very generally been reproached for their real or affected austerity and moroseness. They have been represented as a race of cynics, who waged war with all the harmless pleasantries of life, who deemed it a sin to taste the cup of earthly joy, and who were incapable of relishing the sweets of society, the refinements of science, or the charms of literature. To some of them, part of this representa-

tion might, perhaps, justly apply. And it would be foolish to deny, that there was then a general stiffness and severity, perhaps a portion of harshness in the features, which made up the religious character. Without alleging that religion is a serious thing, and that in every religious character this will be a prominent feature; it ought to be remembered, that the circumstances in which the puritans were placed naturally deepened this feeling. The state of the country was long unsettled. Its government was either exercising an arbitrary and despotic power, of which they were the principal objects; or fighting for its existence; or entirely overthrown, and every thing reduced to anarchy. The people were often called to extraordinary exertion, exposed to imminent danger, or required to make the most costly and painful sacrifices. Mirth and festivity would then have been unsuitable and unseemly. Men do not usually sport on the brink of a precipice, or while surrounded by the desolations of a plague or a volcano. Religion was necessary as a source of enjoyment, and a principle of action. What, in more favoured circumstances, is resorted to for occasional comfort and direction—as an auxiliary to other things—was then the solatium, and often the only prop of human life. It was not assumed as a badge, or worn as a garment; but constituted the element in which they lived and moved. It was their life, their business, and their hope.

Of nothing is the writer of these pages more strongly convinced, than that the design and tendency of the gospel are to make those who receive it happy. This is the revealed affirmation respecting its object. Its sublime discovery of the infinitely perfect and amiable character of God—its statements respecting the sacrifice and mediation of Christ, as the ground of hope, and the means of pardon and healing to the guilty—the elevating influence of the spirit which it communicates—and the grandeur of that hope which it inspires, and of which it furnishes so sure a foundation—all prove how admirably adapted it is to relieve the heart from sorrow, and to produce "joy unspeakable and full of glory."

Perhaps many of the religious persons of whom we are speaking did not fully enter into this idea of Christianity, or at least experience its full influence. It was counteracted by slight mistakes, as well as by external circumstances. The attention of many of them, as well as of many religious people still, was too much fixed on themselves, and too little on the heavenly discovery. They thought of their sin, rather than of its pardon; of the disease, more than of the remedy; of the rebellion of man more than of the amnesty of God. They dwelt on the Divine holiness and justice, rather apart, than in their combination with mercy and kindness; and regarded suffering more in the light of punishment, than of

salutary restraint and merciful correction. Still, they knew the blessedness of peace with God, and of victory over the world. Their self-denial and crucifixions were never unconnected with hope. He must be very incapable of estimating happiness, who does not regard with satisfaction, the composure, the firmness, the resignation, and religious comfort of William Kiffin, as exhibited in these Memorandums. And I desire not to envy the feelings of that man, who can read the account of his grandsons without exclaiming—"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my latter end be like his."

I am aware of the great difficulty of persuading a person who knows nothing of the peculiar enjoyments which belong to a life of hope and conformity to the will of God;—that the noiseless, purifying, and I add, rational bliss of religion, is far preferable to the intoxicating and short lived joys of this world. By such, the merry cavalier will always be preferred to the solemn puritan; and the dashing, swearing Sir Geoffrey, will have many more admirers than the grave and virtuous Bridgnorth. Nothing less, than the power of the great Teacher himself, can convince men of the truth and importance of his own declaration—"Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst;

but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life."

That the Puritans were not unamiable men in their own families, and among their friends, the lives of many of them, which have been published, clearly evince. Their religion regulated, but did not extinguish their natural feelings. In many instances it must have improved and refined them. It did not perhaps convert a rustic into a gentleman, or a man of rugged dispositions into the most amiable or gentle of mortals; but it would teach the former to give "an answer with meekness and fear," and the latter to cultivate the condescension and gentleness of Christ. It moderated their love of the world; but it also taught them not to neglect their business, and to provide things honest in the sight of all men. If they despised the glare of wealth, and trusted not in riches; they enjoyed with thankfulness the substantial comforts which a merciful Providence afforded them, or endured with patience the ills of poverty. It raised them above the petty ambition of titles and places; but it also animated and ennobled their patriotism. Their virtue was not to be bribed, their vigilance was not to be laid asleep, their courage was not to be daunted, when the liberties of their country were in danger. With them, "lives and fortunes" were not the unmeaning words of vaunting courtiers, but the ready

sacrifice of men, to whom life was nothing except in connection with religion, and fortune a bauble, unless enjoyed in an inheritance of freedom.

The length and ardour of the devotional exercises for which the Puritans were distinguished, have frequently been the subjects of ridicule and misrepresentation. These also, in some measure, arose out of the circumstances in which they were placed. They were often under the necessity of meeting in the most secret manner, and at the most inconvenient seasons. Of this the following narrative will furnish some illustrations. Thus situated, they were glad, when they did assemble, to enjoy as long as possible each other's society, and fellowship with their God. What would now be reckoned weariness was then rest and refreshment. When the state of the country admitted of their meeting in a more regular and public manner, the habit of long services had been formed, and they knew not how to shorten them. Even then the numerous and momentous changes which were passing over them, kept up the alarm and excitement of their spirits, and stimulated the ardour of their devotion.

But why should an apology be necessary for spending considerable portions of time in the service of the Creator? Is it because religious people now feel it to be a drudgery? Or because sinful creatures have discovered that it is no longer ne-

cessary? When we hear of Parliament spending twelve or fourteen hours at a sitting, in discussing the business of the country, it excites our approbation. When we read that the same body spent, occasionally, the half of that time, during a period of fearful agitation, in fasting and prayer before the God of Heaven, it perhaps excites a smile. Ought it to do so? An address of three or four hours to men, is regarded as a proof of earnestness, or a display of genius. A prayer to God, which should last one hour, would be denounced as fanaticism and hypocrisy. For the enthusiasm of patriotism or genius, a ready apology is always found; but the warmth and decision of religion experience no quarter in the world. For this, however much a genuine Christian will deplore it, he will not be very solicitous. He will remember, "If they called the master of the house Beelzebub, much more they of his household."

The religious people of that age were remarkable for tracing and acknowledging the hand of God in all their affairs. That the habit of referring all things to the superintending and ever matchless care of an infinite Being, may degenerate into superstition and silliness, must be admitted. On the other hand, the abuse of the maxim, "that the Almighty acts not by partial but by general laws," produces a species of practical Atheism. It is often forgotten, that the idea of a *universal*, includes that

of a *particular* Providence; and the man who rejects the latter from his creed, cannot be considered a firm believer in the former. Divine greatness comprehends attention to all that we deem little, as well as to all that we reckon great.

These observations will apply to all periods and circumstances; although in extraordinary and difficult times, more occasions for remarking the singular interpositions of Providence occur. When hair-breadth escapes are frequently made—when the principle of faith seems to be often rewarded with success—when the mighty are brought down from their thrones, and men of low estate are exalted—when the fall or establishment of a government depends on the issue of a debate, or the event of a battle, men must be utterly regardless of God and religion, who do not familiarise their minds with the displays of his power and sovereignty. In such persons as Col. Hutchinson and Kiffin—from the various fortunes that befel them—attention to the leadings of Providence became a kind of faculty, "They heard a voice, men could not hear; they saw a hand, men could not see."

The frequent use of certain Scriptural phrases and theological terms, gives a quaintness to the style, and an appearance of affectation to the writers and professors of the puritanical period, which repel many from seeking an acquaintance with

them; and, from the days of Hudibras, have furnished great store of mirth and ludicrous association to the triflers and would-be wits of the country. Grace, faith, election, perseverance, experience, godliness, and such words, in every varied combination, perpetually occur in the conversations and works of the men of that generation. The words themselves are good, though they may have been employed with unnecessary frequency; but it is doubtful whether any other terms in the language would convey, with equal propriety, the force of those ideas which they intended to express by them. They certainly savour of the theological school to which the persons chiefly belonged; but they also shew the nature of those religious feelings and expectations, which, as guilty creatures, they derived entirely from the unconditional mercy of the Most High.

A celebrated Essayist writes, as if he were almost ashamed of the phraseology referred to, because it happens to be repulsive to men of taste. But if the words employed be the correct signs of ideas peculiar to the revealed science of salvation, why ought they to be so cautiously avoided? Every system of philosophy has its appropriate phraseology, every science has its nomenclature. A truly philosophic mind will conquer its aversion to what it may consider a barbarous dialect, for the sake of the sentiment which is clothed in it. If this hardi-

hood be not possessed, no change of diction will produce the love or the enjoyment of truth. As there is no royal road to astronomy; neither is there any pathway to the kingdom of heaven, appropriated to men of taste. Such persons are no doubt offended at the vehicle; but it is chiefly on account of what it conveys. The cup may indeed sometimes be rude and disgusting; but were it made of gold, and fashioned with the most curious workmanship, while it contained what is regarded as a nauseous potion, it would be repelled. No human covering will ever render palatable the medicine of Christianity. The offence of the cross is not so much in the language in which it is represented, as in the unsightliness of the object itself. A musical amateur feels a natural repugnance to the nazal twang of the conventicle; but he would not love the songs of Sion themselves, though set to the music of Handel. For faith, we may substitute persuasion—for grace, we may say favour—and for godliness, we may use piety.—Still the world will either mistake the nature of true religion, by this appearance of softening it down, or retain its hatred, and give it a new direction.

It is impossible to study the Bible closely for a considerable time without adopting unconsciously a liberal portion of its phraseology. This perhaps partly accounts for the superabundance of Scriptural language in the conversation of the Puri

tans. That Book, which is now resorted to by many, only when they happen to lose a friend, or to be afflicted with disease, or are trembling at the approach of death—was the daily and hourly companion of such men as Kiffin. They were quite familiar with its contents. This appeared in the ease with which they recurred to its statements, and the ability with which they defended its doctrines and precepts on all occasions. Hence its language became interwoven with their own. What would now be mere affectation, or reckoned profane and improper, was then, constant and approved practice. It was their classic, whose idioms supplied them with phrases. Its history furnished them with examples of heroism and devotedness in the cause of God and their country. Its poetry furnished them with songs, which soothed their grief, and animated their ardour. It supplied their "word" in the day of battle, and lightened their countenances on the scaffold, and at the block.

I ought to apologise for detaining the reader so long from the document itself, which has occasioned these remarks. I am far from thinking that the Puritans had no considerable faults or blemishes; or that many things belonging to them ought to be imitated. Even their failings, however, generally leaned to the side of virtue; and both as Christians, and as Patriots, their memories ought to be cherished with respect. Kiffin, and his grandsons, found

the gospel to be the power of God to salvation while they lived—and experienced its strong consolations when they came to die. It will be well, if every reader of this volume be a partaker of the same principles, do equal justice to their influence, and obtain at last their glorious and interminable results.

With the manuscript I have used little freedom. I have divided it into chapters and paragraphs—corrected the orthography and punctuation—and occasionally altered a word, and changed the order of a sentence. The sentiments have been left entirely untouched, and the language altered as little as possible.—The Notes and Additions are of a very miscellaneous nature. They contain short notices of a number of the individuals mentioned in the manuscript; illustrations of some of the events; and all the additional information respecting Kiffin himself, which was within my reach.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

KIFFIN'S EARLY EXPERIENCES.

His design in writing this Work—Escapes from the plague—Is bound Apprentice—Runs away from his Master—Returns in consequence of hearing Mr Foxley—Hears Mr Norton—His great distress of mind—Hears Mr Davenport—His farther perplexities respecting grace and conviction—Hears Mr Moulin—Meditates on the Scriptures, and reads religious books—Profits by the preaching of John Goodwin—Forms an acquaintance with other young men—Obtains comfort.....p. 1.

CHAPTER II.

KIFFIN'S RELIGIOUS CHANGES.

Studies the Nonconformist Controversy—Becomes a Dissenter—Exercises his gifts—Remarkable adventure with a Blacksmith—Imprisoned for preaching—Conduct of Judge Mallet—Singular preservation while in prison—Interview with Lord Brook—Delivered from prison by the impeachment of the Judge—Cured of a severe illness by Dr Trigg—Generosity of the Doctor..... ....p. 13

CHAPTER III.

KIFFIN'S BUSINESS ADVENTURES.

Carries out an adventure to Holland—Returns and spends the profits—Engages a young man to go out for him again—Avoids Public Places, and buying Public Lands—Enjoyed no favours from the Parliament or the Protector—Is apprehended by Monk before the restoration—Delivered by the interference of the Lord Mayor.....p. 22.

CHAPTER IV.

KIFFIN'S POLITICAL HAZARDS.

Apprehended on a charge of Treason—Brought before Monk—Committed to Prison—Examined by Chief Justice Foster—Defends himself to his Lordship's satisfaction—Exposes the Forgery of the Letter which occasioned his being apprehended—Opposes the Hamburgh Company—Is examined by the House of Commons—Is brought before the King in Council—Is honourably dismissed—Enjoys the favour of the King and Lord Clarendon.....p. 28

CHAPTER V.

KIFFIN'S DANGERS FROM BUCKINGHAM.

Apprehended at midnight by the Duke's orders—Examined at York-house—Curious conversation with Buckingham—Committed to the care of an officer—Writes the Lord Chancellor—His case brought before the Privy Council—Discharged without paying fees—Waits on the Chancellor—Discovers that Buckingham had lodged a charge against

him to the Council—By advice of the Chancellor, applies to the King—Is allowed to return home—Sent for by Sir Richard Brown—His house searched by soldiers—Carried to the Guard at the Exchange—Dismissed by Sir Thomas Player—Conclusion of this part of his Memoirs.....p. 37.

CHAPTER VI.

KIFFIN'S DOMESTIC TROUBLES.

The Death of his eldest son—His second son sent abroad—Poisoned at Venice—Prosecuted by informers—Death of his wife—Prosecuted for fifteen meetings—Escapes the fine—Suspected of being connected with Lord Russell—His son-in-law tried for his life—A trap laid for him—Introduction to the account of the death of his Grandsons.

p. 48.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HEWLINGS.

Their object in engaging with Monmouth—Dispersion of his Army—Deliver themselves up to a Gentleman—Sent to Exeter—Put on board a frigate and carried to Newgate—State of their minds in prison—Sent down to the West to be tried—Their sister's account of their behaviour—One sent to Taunton, and the other detained at Dorchester—Particular account of Mr William Hewling—His behaviour at death, and sympathy of the people with him.—Letter from Hannah Hewling to her mother—Account of Mr Benjamin Hewling's death—His last letter to his mother—Kiffin's remarks.....p. 55.

CHAPTER VIII.

KIFFIN'S PUBLIC CONDUCT.

The Court attempts to introduce Popery—The Commons opposed to it—Kiffin employs his influence among the Dissenters against it—The King nominates him to be an Alderman—Is very averse to accept the office—Takes legal advice—Gives £50 towards a City Dinner to the King—Takes the office—Arbitrary conduct of the Court—His behaviour as Alderman—Resigns the office—Concluding reflections—Address to his children.....p. 83.

NOTES AND ADDITIONS.....p. 91.

KIFFIN's MEMOIRS.

CHAPTER I.

KIFFIN'S EARLY EXPERIENCES.

His design in writing this Work—Escapes from the plague—Is bound Apprentice—Runs away from his Master—Returns in consequence of hearing Mr Foxley—Hears Mr Norton—His great distress of mind—Hears Mr Davenport—His farther perplexities respecting grace and conviction—Hears Mr Moulin—Meditates on the Scriptures, and reads religious books—Profits by the preaching of John Goodwin—Forms an acquaintance with other young men—Obtains comfort.

It was one of the charges which God gave his people of old, that those many great providences which they were made partakers of, might by them be left to their children, to the end that they might, from generation to generation, be the more engaged to cleave unto the Lord. I have therefore thought it my duty, to leave behind me some account of those many footsteps of his grace and goodness towards me; (being now arrived to old age,

and by the many weaknesses and distempers which attend me, have cause to judge my time is not likely to be long in this world)—if it may contribute any thing towards the provoking of your hearts to love, fear, and obey that God who will never fail nor forsake those who trust in him.

The first eminent providence I observed from the Lord towards me, was in the year 1625, when that great plague was in the city of London, which swept away my relations; and, being myself but nine years of age, left me with six plague sores upon my body. Nothing but death was looked for by all that were about me; but it pleased God, of his great goodness, to restore me. Being left in the hands of such friends as remained alive, I was by them taken care of; although they sought their own advantage, by possessing themselves of what was left me: of which, as they afterwards failed in business, I never enjoyed but very little.

In the year 1629, I was put apprentice to a mean calling, in which I continued till the year 1631, without any sense of the great deliverance I had obtained from the hand of God. At this time, being then at the age of fifteen years, I began to consider the

condition I was in as to my outward estate, and became quite melancholy. One morning very early, I went away from my master, although without any just cause given by him. Wandering up and down the streets, and passing by St. Antholin's church, I saw people going in, which made me return and go in also. Mr Foxley was then preaching upon the fifth commandment, and shewing the duty of servants to masters; which made me greatly wonder, as thinking he had known me, and only preached to me. It had that effect of making me immediately return home to my master, without my going away being observed by any. This sermon dwelt very much upon my thoughts, and provoked in me a desire to hear some of them they called Puritan Ministers.

A little after this, I heard Mr Norton, who preached at the same place in the morning, upon that text, Isaiah, lvii. 21, "There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God." He shewed what true peace was, and that no man could obtain it without an interest in Jesus Christ. This sermon made a very great impression on my heart; being convinced that I had not that peace. How to obtain an interest in Jesus Christ I knew not, which occasioned

great perplexity of mind. I saw myself every day more and more sinful and vile:—pray I could not:—believe in Jesus Christ I could not. I thought myself shut up in unbelief. And although I desired to mourn under the sense of my sins, yet I saw there was no suitable proportion of sorrow to that evil nature which I found working strongly in my soul,

As the only thing I could do in those circumstances, I took up resolutions to attend upon the most powerful preaching, which accordingly I did. By this means I found some relief, many times from seeing a possibility that, notwithstanding my sinful state, I might at last obtain mercy. I resolved also to leave sin; but although to will was present sometimes, yet how to perform I had no power.

It pleased God, after some time, that I heard Mr Davenport, in Coleman Street. He preached upon that text, 1 John, i. 7, "And the blood of Jesus Christ, his son, cleanseth us from all sin." He shewed the efficacy of the blood of Christ both to pardon and to cleanse from sin; and answered many objections, which the unbelieving heart of man brings, against that full satisfaction which Jesus

Christ hath made for sinners. I found many of them were such as I had made in my own heart; such as the sense of unworthiness, and willingness to be better before I would come to Christ for life, with many other of the like kind. This sermon was of great use to my soul. I thought I found my heart greatly to close with the riches and freeness of grace which God held forth to poor sinners. I found my fears to vanish, and my heart filled with love to Jesus Christ. I saw sin viler than ever, and felt my heart more abhorring it.

Soon after, I heard Mr Norton upon that text, Luke, i. 69, "And hath raised up an horn of salvation for us, in the house of his servant David;" from which he shewed that Jesus Christ was mightily accomplished with power and ability to save his people. My faith was exceedingly strengthened in the fulness of that satisfaction which Jesus Christ had given to the Father for sinners, and I was enabled to believe my interest therein. Then I found some ability to pray and to meditate upon the riches of this grace; so that I could say with David, "When I awake I am still with thee." I found the power of inbred corruption scatter, and my heart set on fire with holy love to Christ.

Being young, and knowing little of the deceits of my own heart, I thought I should never find the power and strength of sin and corruption rise in me any more. I wondered much when I heard ancient Christians so much complain of the strength of sin that they found daily in their souls. In this frame of peace and rest I continued for near three months; rejoicing in the grace of God, and was ready to say, that by his favour he had made my mountain so strong that I should never be moved.

But a new storm began to arise in my soul. For, under the comfort and peace I enjoyed, I thought the power of inbred corruption had been so broken within me that it should never prevail over me any more. I began to find my confidence in God abate, and my comforts to lessen, and the motions of sin to revive with greater strength than ever. In every duty I performed, my heart was so carnal that it was a burden to me; and by reason thereof I was a burden to myself. My comforts were gone, and in all the duties of religion I was as a man that had no strength; yet durst I not omit the performance of any. Still I had some secret hopes that the Lord would not utterly cast me off in displeasure; although my fears were stronger

than my hopes. I was daily questioning whether all that formerly was enjoyed might be any more than such a taste of the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, as those had enjoyed who nevertheless fell away.—Heb. vi. 1—3.

Many weeks I continued in this great distress, keeping all things to myself; being ashamed to open my state to any. At last, being in the company of some Christians who were talking about the least measure of true grace; I understood they concluded, that the least measure of true grace was to know that a man had grace. (Although, indeed, this was my own mistake of them.) I presently drew this conclusion, without any further examination, that then I had no grace. I was thus confirmed in my former dark thoughts, that all my enjoyments were but mere flashes, which greatly increased the sorrow and distress of my soul. Surely had not the Lord been gracious to relieve me, in a little time, I must have sunk under the burden.

It pleased his Divine Majesty to give me seasonable relief in about a week after this. Having an opportunity, I went to hear Mr Moulin, who preached at the church by London Stone. It

being a preparation sermon to the Sacrament, he laid down this for a truth, at the beginning of his discourse, that, to prepare a man for the right receiving of the Sacrament, it was absolutely necessary he should have grace; and the least measure of grace was sufficient. He then fell upon that question; What the least measure of grace was? Before he gave a positive answer to the question, he proved, that for a man to know he had grace, could not be the least measure, but a very large degree of grace; it being a reflex act of faith. He then gave several characters of the least measure of true grace. I greatly wondered within myself, to hear him fall upon that which did so much and particularly concern me. I also found some small beginnings of those signs of true grace, which he laid down, in my own soul. This wonderfully relieved my hopes again; God being pleased to give me some strength to depend upon his grace, more than I had received for many weeks before. My resolutions were thus strengthened to follow God, and to wait upon him in every duty, whatsoever his pleasure might be towards me at the last.

It also pleased God greatly to encourage me, from two passages of Scripture which were brought

to my thoughts with great power: Isaiah xxx. 18, "Therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you; and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you: for the Lord is a God of judgment; blessed are all they that wait for him." Meditation on these words filled me with astonishment,—that the great God of heaven and earth should reckon himself exalted to shew mercy to poor sinners; and to encourage such to wait, and not be discouraged: from this consideration, that he was a God of judgment, and knew the fittest season to give what a poor soul waited for.

Also that text was very useful to me: Isaiah l. 10,—"Who *is* among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh *in* darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." It pleased God greatly to bless to me the reading of Mr Thomas Goodwin's book upon that subject. By means of these Scriptures, God delivered me from those temptations, of casting off waiting upon God in the use of all means, which formerly had attended me. But yet I was ready to run to my own righteousness; I mean to an expectation of some-

thing in myself by which I might get greater victory over sin, and more love to God and his ways, before I should believe in Christ for pardon.

Under these thoughts, and being diligent in hearing the best and ablest Ministers, I still found them pressing the necessity of deep humiliation by the law, as the only way God took to the conversion of a sinner. I was also the more convinced of it by reading Mr Hooker's book of "The Soul's Preparation for Christ;" which made me conclude that never having those deep convictions, there was reason to question the truth of the work of grace in my soul. Those thoughts dwelt very long with me (being by this time arrived to the age of 17 years); but still they engaged me to make a further search into my own heart, and to neglect no opportunity of hearing the word; by means of which I found many supports from the Lord.

About the latter end of 1632, it pleased God to bring to London, Mr John Goodwin, whose ministry I attended, upon finding it very profitable to me. Coming to deliver his judgment about the way of God's dealings in the converting of sinners; he shewed that the terrors of the law were not of

necessity to be preached to prepare the soul for Christ; but rather, in the nature and tendency of them, did drive the soul farther from Christ. He also answered very many objections, and Scriptures brought by others to the contrary. This was of great use to me, so far as to satisfy me that God had not tied himself to any one way of converting a sinner; but according to his own pleasure took several ways to bring a soul to Jesus Christ. I had for some time seen the want of Christ, as he alone by whom I must expect pardon; and also had seen the worth and excellences that were in him above all other objects; which caused my soul to rest upon and trust in him.

About this time I began to be acquainted with several young men who diligently attended on the means of grace. It pleased God to make known much of himself and his grace unto them. And, being apprentices as well as myself, they had no opportunity of converse, but on the Lord's days. It was our constant practice to attend the morning lecture, which began at six o'clock, both at Cornhill and Christ Church. We also appointed to meet together an hour before service, to spend it in prayer, and in communicating to each other what ex-

perience we had received from the Lord; or else to repeat some sermon which we had heard before.

After a little time, we also read some portion of Scripture, and spake from it what it pleased God to enable us; wherein I found very great advantage, and by degrees did arrive to some small measure of knowledge. I found the study of the Scriptures very pleasant and delightful to me, to which I attended as it pleased God to give me an opportunity.

CHAPTER II.

KIFFIN'S RELIGIOUS CHANGES.

Studies the Nonconformist Controversy—Becomes a Dissenter—Exercises his gifts—Remarkable adventure with a Blacksmith—Imprisoned for preaching—Conduct of Judge Mallet—Singular preservation while in prison—Interview with Lord Brook—Delivered from prison by the impeachment of the Judge—Cured of a severe illness by Dr Trigg—Generosity of the Doctor.

Mr Davenport, Mr Hooker, and several other ministers, leaving the kingdom about this time, because they could not conform, I was put upon the examination of the reasons of their conduct. To this end, I furnished myself with all the books and manuscripts I could get. Upon perusing of which I found, comparing what I read with the Scriptures, that God was always very jealous of his worship, and had left many examples of his severity on those who had added any thing thereto. Of this we are furnished with examples in the cases of Nadab and Abihu; and of Uzza, who was struck dead for touching the ark. Yet being myself very weak, and

finding many able ministers, that did conform, I applied myself for satisfaction to those I judged most able; but I found that instead of satisfying me, they rather despised my youthful years, shewing more passion than reason; although some years after, those very men, in the synod, condemned the same things, as unlawful, which they were offended with me for desiring satisfaction in.

Finding myself greatly disappointed of what I had hoped I might have received from them, I was the more provoked to beg earnestly of God to direct me; and searched more closely the Scriptures, wherein I received much satisfaction: being much helped by hearing Mr Glover, who went to New England, and Mr Burroughs, who, a while after, went to Holland.

Sometime after, I joined myself to an Independent congregation, with a resolution, as soon as it pleased God to open a way, to go to New England; being now arrived to the age of 22 years. But the providence of God prevented me, and soon after it pleased God to provide for me a suitable yoke-fellow, who was one with me in judgment, and joined to the same congregation.

It being then the heat of the Bishops' severities, we were forced to meet very early in the morning, and to continue together till night. At the desire of the church, I improved amongst them those small abilities God was pleased to give me; and although many times our meetings were disturbed, yet I was generally kept out of the hands of the persecutors. But meeting one Lord's day at a house on Tower-hill, on coming out, several rude persons were about the door; and many stones were flung at me which did me no hurt—only one fell upon my eye, but without any great prejudice; so I escaped out of their hands. About a year after, I was sent for by a poor man, a smith, who lived in Nightingale Lane, who lay very sick. When I came to him he was wasted almost to skin and bones. He asked me if I knew him? I answered I did not. He replied that he knew me; for he was the man that disturbed our meeting at Tower-hill, and gathered the people together to stone me. At that time, he said, he was as strong a man, he thought, as most men were; but he went home from that place, and fell ill; and had wasted in his body to what I now saw him. He entreated me if I had any compassion for such a vile wretch, that I would pray with him, which accordingly I did;—but he died that

day. Looking at this as a remarkable providence, I think it not amiss to record it.

Not long after, the parliament began to sit; but before any difference arose between the king and them, being at a meeting in Southwark, I was taken and carried before some Justices of the Peace. The Assizes being next day I was bound to answer there. Judge Mallet sitting as judge, I was committed to the White Lyon prison. Here I remained a prisoner till the judge returned home from riding the circuit out of Kent. While I was there, by the malice of a prisoner, whose chamber was under mine, the prisoners in the common gaol were incensed against me, to do me a mischief; and as they themselves told me, to take away my life. Several of them had been condemned, but had obtained a reprieve, and others were in prison for great robberies. Accordingly, on a Lord's-day, in the evening, several of them came up to my chamber, my door being open, and only myself, my wife, a maid servant and child in the room. One Jackson, a noted rogue, came before them, having a great truncheon in his hand. He asked me what company I had there? To whom I replied, that I had none but what he saw. Having upon my table some Spanish

tobacco, which a friend had left me; I asked him if he would accept of it. He, looking wistfully on me, and several others of his company being behind him in the room, took it and thanked me. I also asked him, if he and the rest would drink, which they did. Then this Jackson turned to them, and bid them go out of the room, and he bid me farewell and went away.

The man's chamber, who had set them on, being under mine, they, finding the door shut, endeavoured to break it open; which I hearing went down and asked them what they meant to do? Jackson told me, that he was the man that had engaged them to knock me on the head; but they would do his work for him, although they should be hanged the next day. But at last, through much entreaty, they were persuaded to desist. This was a signal providence of God to me, to preserve me from such bloody men.

But my neighbour that set them on, not effecting his end, had prepared a charge against me to deliver to Judge Mallet upon his return, which accordingly he did. In this charge he set forth, that several persons coming to my chamber, I had preach-

ed treasonable words against the king: which charge was very false, as God knoweth. My wife and friends applied themselves to the Judge to take bail, which he refused. Upon this I went with my keeper to speak with my Lord Brooke, who told me he would speak to the Judge in my behalf. He was then going into the house of Lords. In a little time after, he came out while I was standing in the Court of Requests, and told me he had been speaking with the Judge, but could prevail nothing. The Judge telling him he had a very high charge against me, and waited but the leisure of the house to acquaint them with it. I told my Lord, I was not conscious to myself of any such thing in the least. My Lord told me he would do the utmost he could for me when he heard what it was.

In the meantime, while I staid expecting further trouble, unknown to me several men were at the bar of the House of Commons as witnesses against the said Judge, for encouraging a petition during the assizes at Maidstone in his last sitting. The Commons having heard this, they esteemed what he had done of dangerous consequence. While I stood in the Court of Requests, expecting to hear what the Judge had to charge against me, the house of Com-

mons passed through to the house of Lords; and there charged the said Judge, who was that day committed to the tower, and I was released of my imprisonment—Mallet exhibiting no charge against me. Thus it pleased God to deliver me out of the hands of malicious men; causing the rage of men to praise him, and the remnant thereof he restrained.

It pleased God, near about this time, to visit me with a great and sore fit of sickness; all my friends giving me over as a dying man. My physicians also thought the same. But by the persuasion of a friend who was well acquainted with Doctor Trigg, my wife was prevailed on to go to him; who, coming to me, told my wife I was in a dangerous condition, and that he would not meddle with me; but through very many earnest persuasions he did undertake me. My other physicians having given me over, it pleased God to bless the means used for my restoration. At that time my friends and my wife's friends concluded, that my judgment and practice in religion differing from the nation, I would be undone, and my children fall to their care. They therefore kept what I should have had in their own hands. My wife's friends also kept what portion I should have had with her, which put me to many straits.

It was near three months that Dr. Trigg had me in hand; coming many times twice in a day, and generally once every day; but he would take nothing either for his coming, or for his physic at the time; but told my wife he would take it altogether, when I was well. My wife has often told me, that when she has gone to him for me in the time of my sickness, she hath seen some come to him in a coach, and offer him two twenty shilling pieces of gold to go with them to visit a sick person, which he hath refused, in regard many people were at his house waiting upon him. At the same time he hath left the people at his house to stay for him, while he hath come to me, to observe the working of my fits.

When it pleased God to restore me to some strength, I was not a little troubled to consider that surely I had a very large score to pay the Doctor; and how to pay it I knew not. Very loath I was to borrow, not knowing how to pay again; and when to get my money out of the hands of my friends I knew not. But herein the Lord was exceedingly good to me, for although the hearts of my friends were shut up against me, it pleased God to deal with me herein far beyond my thoughts. For, desiring

to know of the doctor what I owed him, he told me he would have no more than a French crown. I thought he jested with me, but he told me he would have no more. What should move him to take so small a matter I know not. It seemed exceeding wonderful to me, that a man who was a stranger, with whom I never spoke before in all my life, should show this kindness to me. Since then he hath told me he was never so much engaged to study the saving the life of any man as he was of mine. This providence I looked at to be very great to me at that time; and it did greatly encourage me to cleave unto the Lord in the discharge of my duty: that word being made good, "Trust in the Lord, and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed."

CHAPTER III.

KIFFIN'S BUSINESS ADVENTURES.

Carries out an adventure to Holland—Returns and spends the profits—Engages a young man to go out for him again—Avoids Public Places, and buying Public Lands—Enjoyed no favours from the Parliament or the Protector—Is apprehended by Monk before the restoration—Delivered by the interference of the Lord Mayor.

It pleased God, after I was raised up, to provide some employment for me. In the year 1643 I went over into Holland with some small commodities, which I found good profit by. But on coming home again, I was greatly pressed by the people, with whom I was a member, to continue with them. This I did, omitting the opportunity of proceeding in that trade, and spending my time chiefly in studying the word of God; until I had spent most part of what I had got. My wife also diligently employed herself to get what she could, that we might eat our own bread, and not be burthensome to any. In the latter end of the year 1645, seeing no way of subsistence,

and that I was likely to be reduced to a very low condition in the world; and being acquainted with a young man that was a member of the same congregation, who walked very soberly, although he also had but little in the world, I discoursed with him about his going over to Holland; which I found him willing to do.

He took with him the commodity that first I went over with, and found profitable; and although our stock was very little, it pleased God so to bless our endeavours, that, from scores of pounds, he brought it to many hundreds and thousands of pounds: giving me more of this world than ever I could have thought to have enjoyed. By this means, I was enabled to improve the small talent God gave me without being burthensome to any. I was able to give without receiving, which, I bless the Lord, he hath in some measure given me a heart to do.

While others, under the present sad differences raised their estates by public places and public lands; I stood in no need of the first, to wit, public places of profit; and always was wary of meddling with any public lands, which, by the good providence of

God, proved very advantageous to me, as will be hereafter related more particularly.

Only one thing I think it necessary to mention, to take off some aspersions, that hath been cast upon me—that I raised my estate by obtaining orders to bring in prohibited goods. This, it was said, I obtained from the Long Parliament, and from the Protector, which was a scandal upon me; for I never received any but such as was common to all other men.

The first order I obtained was when the Act of Navigation was made, prohibiting all goods of the growth or manufacture of the place, to be brought in, but by English Shipping. As there were but five weeks between the making of that Act and its coming to execution; I, with many others, had, before the making thereof, shipped several parcels of goods, which were liable to be seized by that Act, if they came in after the time there limited. The winds continuing very cross, our ships could not come in within the time. Myself and several other merchants petitioned, that, in case those goods should not come in, the penalty of the Act might not be

executed. Accordingly coming after it took place, the Council of State ordered, that all that could make oath that their goods were shipped before, should have them notwithstanding the Act. So as many as could, had their goods, and I also had mine, upon making said oath. This was all the orders I had, which every man in my condition obtained, as well as I.

When the first war between England and Holland broke forth, the Hollanders had, by connivance with the Swedes and Danes, bought up all the pitch, tar, hemp, and cordage, to prevent the Parliament from being able to supply their fleet. In consequence, the Council of State made order, that all merchants that would bring in any of the said goods, should have liberty to bring in any other sorts of prohibited goods proportionable to the above. So every man that went for the said order had it; and by means thereof, the Parliament was furnished with all things belonging to shipping during that war. That liberty I, with many others, took and enjoyed the benefit of, upon the terms the said order expressed; which were not given as an act of favour but of State. Other orders, besides these two, I never had from the Parliament;

and from the Protector I obtained not any; neither did I desire any.—But whatever I had was in common with all men. I the rather give some account of this, to satisfy all hereafter, that what estate God hath blest me withal, hath been by his hand on my lawful employment.

Passing by many things, I shall now give some account of those several providences of God, which have watched over me for good, since his Majesty's return. At that time, I considered that I had many enemies, and therefore could not but expect to meet with very hard dealings, from men that envied my estate. But that God, who hath given me occasion to trust in him ever since I lay upon my mother's breast, and hath carried me along under many changes of my life, hath wonderfully wrought for me, and preserved me by his grace to this moment. Only one thing I shall mention:—A little before the Restoration, upon General Monk's coming to London, he took up his quarters near my house; and, in a few days after, I was seized, with several others, by soldiers, at midnight, and carried to the guard at St Paul's. The next day, it was rumoured in the city, of the great quantity of Arms which was taken in our possession. Seeing

we were citizens, and not soldiers under his command, we thought it convenient to write a letter to my Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Almin, signifying the scandal that was upon us:—having indeed no Arms in any of our houses, but such as were ordinary for house-keepers;—praying that matters might be examined into, and that we might not be detained from our callings, and kept prisoners without cause. My Lord Mayor was pleased to order the letter to be read at the Common Council, who, being satisfied of our innocence, sent some officers of their own to the General, that we might be released, and the Arms taken from us restored; which accordingly was done.

CHAPTER IV.

KIFFIN'S POLITICAL HAZARDS.

Apprehended on a charge of Treason—Brought before Monk—Committed to Prison—Examined by Chief Justice Foster—Defends himself to his Lordship's satisfaction—Exposes the Forgery of the Letter which occasioned his being apprehended—Opposes the Hamburgh Company—Is examined by the House of Commons—Is brought before the King in Council—Is honourably dismissed—Enjoys the favour of the King and Lord Clarendon.

After the return of his Majesty, I remained in quiet for about six months; till it pleased God to take away by death the Princess of Orange. A plot was then laid, which if it had taken effect, would have cost me the loss of life and estate.

A letter was forged, as if it came from Taunton, directed to this effect:—That the Princess of Orange being now dead, they were ready to put their design into execution;—that according to my promise, I would provide, and send down, powder, match, and bullet, &c. for that they believed the promise, that one of them should chase a thousand,

This was the substance of the said letter. Upon which, I was seized on a Saturday at midnight, and carried to the guard at Whitehall. None were suffered to speak with me, and I continued all next day under many taunts and threats of the soldiers. On the Lord's day evening, I was sent for before General Monk, and several others of the Council, who read the said letter to me. They even charged me, that I must needs be guilty of those things in the said letter. To whom I replied, that I knew not so much as the name of the man mentioned in the letter, by whom it was said to be written; and I did abhor even the entertaining any thoughts of doing any thing which might be to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom.

After the examination, I was put into the hands of the soldiers, to take care of me, and ordered to be sent next day to the Lord Chief Justice Foster, to be examined. I was strictly watched by them all that night, in an inn in King's Street, whither they carried me.

Under this dispensation, I found many supports from God; and knowing my own innocence, did not doubt but the Lord would one way or other work

for my deliverance. The next day, I was carried in a coach to Sergeant's Inn to be examined. Soldiers being about the coach, occasioned a great concourse of people, who inquired what was the matter; some crying out traitors, rogues, hang them all.

On coming to my Lord Chief Justice, I was strictly examined by him about the said letter; to which, when I had returned answer, I told his Lordship, that I did not doubt, but his Lordship took more pleasure to clear an innocent man than to condemn a guilty; and therefore prayed him that I might have liberty to speak for myself, and I doubted not but my innocence would appear. He returned me for answer, I should speak freely what I could.

I told him there were some things in the letter itself which might give satisfaction that it was a mere forgery. For first, the letter states the rise of the execution of this plot from the death of the Princess of Orange, and yet it was dated at Taunton three days before she died. To which my Lord replied.—It was a considerable observation; and looking upon the date of the letter to be so indeed, said that might be but a mistake in the date, yet the letter might be true,

To which I made answer, I should leave that to his Honour's consideration. But there was one thing more, which, with submission to his Lordship's judgment, could be no mistake: that was, that there could be no letter written from London to Taunton, and an answer to it from Taunton, from the time of the death of the Princess of Orange, to the time I was seized. For I told him, his Lordship knew the Princess died on the Monday night, and no letter could give advice of it by post till the next night; and no answer could be to that letter till the next Monday morning; while I was seized the Saturday night after her death, which must needs be before any post came in.

Upon this, my Lord looking very steadfastly upon the Lieutenant Colonel, whose prisoner I was, the said Lieutenant Colonel desired my Lord to give me the oaths. My Lord replied to him in great anger, that he would not. And that things were come to a fine pass, when a Lord Chief Justice must be taught by a soldier what to do. Telling him it was a trappan: and then my Lord directed his speech to me; and told me he was satisfied I was abused, and that if I could find out the author of the said letter he would punish him and discharge me.

Mr Henry Jesse and Mr Crape were mentioned with me in the letter from Taunton, and they were both examined and discharged also. Thus did God work for my deliverance, and insnare them which contrived this letter in the work of their hands, while we escaped as a bird out of the net of the fowler: having great cause to praise his holy name.

A little after this, being at a meeting on a Lords-day, in Shoreditch, we were apprehended and carried before Sir Thomas Bide, and by him I was committed to the new prison, with several others: but having continued there about four days, I was by him released.

It pleased God, after this, to give me some time of respite; but by the providence of God, I was called to manage another affair that might have exposed me to ruin.

The Hamburgh Company endeavouring at this time very much to get themselves established, obtained a proclamation from the King, that none might trade into the places of Holland and Germany with any woollen manufactures, but those that were of the company. This occasioned several mer-

chants of Exeter, and other places in the West to write to their parliament men, to prevent that proceeding, as greatly obstructing their trade; and signifying to them that I was able to inform them of the matter.

Being sent for that day the business was to be heard in a grand Committee of the House of Commons, I accordingly went, and, having spoken with several of the members, they desired me to be present at the hearing. I told them that by reason of my circumstances in other respects, I was no way fit to appear in it. But I would offer my reasons against it to them more privately. They desired me, however, to be present at the hearing, which I complied with. Being present accordingly, one of the members stood up, and desired Mr Chairman to call me, to know what information I could give the Committee in that matter. Which accordingly I did, and was afterwards commanded to appear that day se'en-night.

After several debates, the Committee reported to the House, their opinions against the Hamburgh Company; and the House of Commons ordered several of their members to apply themselves to his

Majesty, to beseech his Majesty to call in the proclamation. But the King before he would do it, ordered to hear it himself in Council, and a summons was sent to me to be present.

Several of the Company, glorying that they would have me in the Gate-house that night—I did myself think they might prevail, being men of interest, and myself so inconsiderable. But although man thought evil, God brought it about for good. For, being before the King, and highly charged for speaking against his Majesty's prerogative; and being asked, by the Council, what I had to say against it?—I returned for answer;—that I knew not that I had said any thing against his Majesty's prerogative; nor was I come thither to offer any such thing. But being commanded by the House of Commons, to offer my reasons, why the confining of the shipping out of woollen manufactures to the Hambargh Company was prejudicial to the kingdom, accordingly I had done so. And if his Majesty pleased, I should offer those reasons there—I was ready to do it—else I had nothing to say in that matter.

It pleased God so to order it, that several

members of the House of Commons were there at the same time, and declared how prejudicial the confinement of the trade was to the merchants and clothiers of their counties. His Majesty was pleased to refer the further hearing of it to the next Council, also commanding me to be present.

At this meeting of the Council, several of the Company laid many charges and great reflections upon me, of what I had said in former times. To whom I replied, that, in all the late times, I had only concerned myself in my own calling;—having not advanced my estate, either by public titles, or public places; and what I had offered to his Majesty, and his most honourable Council, was in obedience to his Majesty's commands: being those things which I thought were for the good and advantage of the kingdom. But if his Majesty thought otherwise, I desired humbly to submit to his Majesty's great wisdom therein.

It pleased God so to order things, that his Majesty and Council were so far satisfied as to recal his proclamation; and this opportunity, by which my enemies thought to get so great an advantage upon me, proved greatly to my good. It occasion-

ed his Majesty and the Council to have a good opinion of me. And although my Lord Arlington hath told me, that in every list brought him of disaffected persons, fit to be secured, I always was in for one, yet the King would not believe any thing against me. My Lord Chancellor, also, the Earl of Clarendon was very much my friend.

CHAPTER V.

KIFFIN'S DANGERS FROM BUCKINGHAM.

Apprehended at midnight by the Duke's orders—Examined at York house—Curious conversation with Buckingham—Committed to the care of an Officer—Writes the Lord Chancellor—His case brought before the Privy Council—Discharged without paying fees—Waits on the Chancellor—Discovers that Buckingham had lodged a charge against him to the Council—By advice of the Chancellor, applies to the King—Is allowed to return home—Sent for by Sir Richard Brown—His house searched by soldiers—Carried to the guard at the Exchange—Dismissed by Sir Thomas Player—Conclusion of this part of his Memoirs.

About a year after this, I met with another great trial, wherein nothing less than my life was struck at. About midnight, I was seized on by Mr Wickham, one of the Messengers of the Council, by order of the Duke of Buckingham, and by him delivered into the hands of one Mr Clifford, a gentleman belonging to the Duke. Many others were seized at that time also.

Being carried to York house, I there remained, under the charge of soldiers, till the next night; when the Duke of Buckingham came, with seve-

ral others. Being called before them, the Duke charged me, that I should have hired two men to kill the King, and with saying, that if they would not do it, I would do it myself. But he further told me, that if I would confess the truth, care should be taken, by him, that I should not suffer. I was greatly amazed at this charge, and returned him this answer—That I had rather he should charge it against me, than I should give the least entertainment of it,—so much as in my thoughts. For, I thank God, I did abhor it from my soul towards the meanest man in the Kingdom, much more towards his Majesty. I further told him, that he could not be looked upon to be his Majesty's friend, that should speak one word for the saving the life of any man, who was in his wits, that should intend any such thing. The Duke told me, he knew I could speak well enough for myself, having spoken so often as I had done before the Council; but what he had charged me with would be proved by two witnesses: and so ordered Clifford to deliver me to the soldiers, and not to suffer any to speak with me.

Being strictly kept by the soldiers till the rest were examined, whose charges, it seems, were not

so high as mine, I had some consternation upon me, although I knew my own innocency. But it pleased the Lord, whose care and goodness had been extended towards me in all difficulties to that day, greatly to revive me: bringing that Scripture, with great power upon my soul—"Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee, yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness."—Isaiah xli. 10. I was so greatly quieted in my own heart that my fears vanished; and I was made willing to wait upon whatever the pleasure of God should be towards me in this matter.

About two hours time after, when all were examined, and several sent to the Gate-house—at the request of Mr Wickham, the Messenger of the Duke, that I might be his prisoner, it was accordingly so ordered. There I went to bed and slept quietly.

The next day, my Lady Ranelagh came to visit me, to whom I gave an account of what the Duke charged me withal. She advised me to write a letter to my Lord Chancellor, to acquaint him with my present condition, and she would carry it

to my Lord herself. This accordingly I did, and that Lady delivered it into his own hands. Having read it, he told her that there was nothing of those things before them in the Council, and promised, that the next Council day he would acquaint the King and Council with it.

Accordingly he did so, and the letter which I sent to his Lorship, was read before the King and Council. It was then asked the Secretaries of State, whether they had received any charge against me? Who both answered, that they had not. Upon which, an order was presently passed for my discharge, without paying of fees. The Messenger, at whose house I was, attended the Council to hear the issue,—and being more my friend than I could have expected, brought me word of the said order, and having obtained it that night, immediately discharged me.

I thought that storm had now been over; and that I was hereby delivered out of the hands of unreasonable men. Understanding, however, the kindness which my Lord Chancellor had done me, I went the next morning to his house, to acknowledge my thankfulness to him. While I stayed without,

there went into him the Lord Chief Justice Bridgeman, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, his Majesty's Attorney General, Sir Henry Finch, Solicitor-General, and Sir Richard Brown.

After a little while I was called in to my Lord, they being all present. My Lord asked me how I came to be there, and whether I was not a prisoner? I told his Lordship I had been a prisoner, but was come to return His Honour thanks for his favour in presenting my case to his Majesty, by means of which I had been released. He asked me how it came I was released? I told him by order of the King and Council. He demanded of me, Where that order was? I told him, the original was in the messenger's hands, but I had a copy of it, which I shewed him. He told me indeed there was such an order passed, but that last night the Duke of Buckingham came and brought in his charge, and there was an order for continuing me in the messenger's hands; and therefore I must return and render myself a prisoner again. All he could do for me, he said, was, that I should have a fair and speedy trial. I thanked his Lordship, and told him I was very willing so to do, as knowing my own innocence. He then wished me to go to the back stairs, at

White Hall, and speak with one of the King's Pages, who attended there; and tell him I came from him, and desire him to acquaint the King I was there; and if I could satisfy the King to take bail it was well.

Accordingly I went presently, not knowing what the issue of this thing might be. But his Majesty being gone out, I returned to the city, and carried up two sufficient citizens with me to tender as bail, if it was demanded, and hastened up again; and as the providence of God ordered it, just as the King came back, the Chancellor was come to wait upon the King. Having sent in my name, I was ordered to come in to the King, but at the door was remanded back again. Having stayed about an hour without, a messenger came again, and told me the King commanded him to let me know that I might go home; and asked if I had a messenger with me. I told him I had not. He said if I had, he had orders that he should discharge me; but that I must be ready at all times to come when his Majesty sent for me, which I promised I would.

Thus did the Lord, by his own hand, work for my full deliverance from that charge, and I had

cause to think, by means of the Chancellor, for the Page which brought me the first message told me, the King seemed to be very angry with me. This great deliverance was matter of wonder to all that heard of it; for many that were seized at the same-time, whose charges were not so high as mine, were kept in the Gatehouse above six months; although nothing ever came by way of charge against them, from the time of their commitment till they were released.

After this, I was sent for by Sir Richard Brown, to come to him, which I did immediately. He demanded of me where I had been that summer. I told him at London chiefly, but my family was at a kinsman's house in Hertfordshire, where sometimes I myself had been. He demanded, if I had not engaged those people with whom I walked, to enter into a covenant against the government? I told him, the end of our meeting was only to edify each other, as we were able, in matters of religion, and not to meddle with any thing which was prejudicial to the government. He told me there was one present would witness it. I replied, that I knew there was no such thing. Then he told me he would fur-

ther examine the witness, and seeing I came voluntarily to him, upon his sending for me, I might go home till I heard further from him; but I heard no more of that matter afterwards.

About six of the clock one evening, about the same time, a guard being kept at the exchange, a party of soldiers came to my house. They searched all my papers, and perused them, but found nothing. Looking, however, under my man's desk, they saw a book which they supposed was hid there. And indeed so it was, by my man, without my knowledge. This they readily snatched up, crying, now they had found something indeed; but when they had looked into it, they found it was a book of Reynard the Fox, which it seems my man used to read. When they saw their error they laid it down again, and carried me away to the guard at the Exchange.

Sir Thomas Player being the chief commander there, asked me several questions. To whom I returned answer. He told me he had a special order to secure me; but if I would pass my word to be forth-coming when I was sent for, he would let me

go home. I told him I should always be ready at any time. So I returned home again in the matter of an hour's time.

Afterwards, to this time, I never heard more of any thing laid to my charge; but I have since, through the Lord's goodness, been in my habitation in peace, enjoying the comfort of my relations, and what it hath pleased God to give me of the things of this world.

What befel me afterwards, was upon the account of meeting for the worship of God, wherein I found the same hand of Providence in delivering me. Many other things I might have noted, but being of the like nature with what I have already done, I omit. And, for the several trials which have attended me, from those with whom I have walked, I intend particularly to set them done by themselves; they being things more peculiarly relating to the congregation with whom I have walked for more than fifty years. If any improvement may be made of what I have truly related of the several ways of God towards me, in the course of my life, I shall have my end in leaving them.

You may hereby see, that it is not in vain to follow God in the way of duty; and to enquire after the knowledge of Jesus Christ betimes: for "they who find him find life, and obtain favour from the Lord." Whoso walketh in the ways of God "shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet from the fear of evil." This, to the praise of God, I can say I have experienced, and I would not for ten thousand worlds, if I knew my heart, but have tasted of the gracious goings of God in my younger days.

Being now sensible of the decays of nature, and the great inability that attends me thereby to do service for Jesus Christ, the counsel I would leave with you is; First, have a care of your hearts, that they be not taken with the vanities of this present evil world. Your temptations may be more than mine were in my younger days, in regard your enjoyment of the world is much more. But yet consider, it is an evil requital to the Lord for the mercies shewn to your father; that what God hath given him, and hath been left by him to you, should be used to sin against that God who hath freely given it. Oh! let not that which your father hath received as mercy from God be so used, that at last it may prove a curse to you.

I have often prayed from the hands of God, that you may have another portion than the world in this life: that Christ may be your portion, and that your younger years may be spent in looking after that one thing necessary. This hath been the desire of my soul to God for you. I well know outward mercies prove great snares to keep many from Christ, and call for great watchfulness over our hearts in the enjoyment of them. We are very apt to follow example, therefore we are counselled not to follow a multitude to do evil. Our Lord Christ tells us, that "broad is the way that leads to destruction, and many there be that find it." This broad way men need not to be taught; the corruption of their hearts and the subtility of Satan soon points it out.

CHAPTER VI.

KIFFIN'S DOMESTIC TROUBLES.

The Death of his eldest son—His second son sent abroad—Poisoned at Venice—Prosecuted by informers—Death of his wife—Prosecuted for fifteen meetings—Escapes the fine—Suspected of being connected with Lord Russell—His son-in-law tried for his life—A trap laid for him—Introduction to the account of the death of his Grand-sons.

It being several years since I wrote my former experiences of the gracious dealings of God towards me, I hope it may not be unprofitable to give some further account thereof.

It pleased God to take to himself, out of this world, my eldest son, which was no small affliction to me and my dear wife. The sense thereof did greatly press me down with more than ordinary sorrow: he being a young man of about twenty years of age, whose obedience to his parents, and forwardness in the ways of God, were such as made him very amiable in the eyes of all that knew him. In

the midst of my great distress, it pleased the Lord to support me, from that blessed word brought to my mind, Math. xx. 15, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? is thine eye evil because I am good?" These words did quiet my heart with a free submission to his will, being well satisfied, that it was for his great advantage, and a voice to me to be more humble and watchful over my own ways.

My other eldest son, then living, being but weakly, and desiring to travel, I sent him with the Captain of a ship, that was my acquaintance, who went for Aleppo. And fearing, that in his voyage and travels he might be in danger to be corrupted in his judgment, by those of the Popish religion, I sent a young minister with him to prevent any thing of that kind. But I was greatly deceived; for the minister that went in the ship with him, left him and the ship at Leghorn, and travelled himself to Rome; by which means I was to my sorrow disappointed. On my son's returning home, he was, by a Popish Priest, poisoned at Venice. Being too forward in discoursing with him about religion, the priest shewed his revenge, by sending him out of the world. I forbear mentioning the minister's name, he being

yet alive. I desire the Lord may not lay this sin to his charge.

It pleased the Lord, some time afterwards, to permit the laws to be put in execution with severity against dissenters. Being taken at a meeting I was prosecuted for forty pounds, which I deposited in the hands of the officer. Finding some errors in the proceedings, and at the trial, I prosecuted and overthrew the informers, although it cost me thirty pounds to recover my forty pounds again; but it had this advantage that many poor men who were prosecuted upon the same account were hereby relieved, the informers fearing to proceed against them.

It pleased the Lord, some time after, to take to himself my dear and faithful wife, with whom I had lived nearly forty-four years. Her tenderness to me, and faithfulness to God, were such as cannot by me be expressed. She sympathized with me in all my afflictions, and I can truly say I never heard her utter the least discontent under all the various providences that attended myself or her. But owning the hand of God in them, she was a constant encourager of me in the ways of God. Her death was to me the greatest sorrow I ever met with in this world. She departed this life, the 5th of October, 1682.

Presently after her death, I was again prosecuted by informers for fifteen meetings, which amounted to three hundred pounds. They managed this so secretly, that they had got the record in court for the money. But there being errors in this record also, they moved the court to mend the same, (Judge Jenner sitting Judge) but some of my friends in court moved, that I might be heard before it was ordered. By means whereof I came to the knowledge of it, and employed able Counsel for me, who acquainted the court that the record could not be mended. After several hearings, the informers let the suit fall. Thus I was delivered out of their hands, and have been preserved from their violence ever since.

But the wise providence of God, who orders all things as he pleaseth, reserved yet farther trials to attend me in my old age; although through his goodness he hath been pleased to give me some measure of strength to bear me up under them all, and in the sharpest of which I have seen goodness and mercy towards me.

Soon after the discovery of the Popish Plot, the pretended plot of the Duke of Monmouth and the

Lord Russell came on; at which time my house was searched, and my arms taken from me, which were no other than such as were necessary for my house. Great inquiry was made from some of those who were witnesses against my Lord Russell, whether I had not an hand in it. But none was found to witness any thing against me; neither indeed could any justly do it. I being a stranger both to the Duke and Lord Russell, not so much as knowing them by face, nor ever having been in their company.

Several persons at that time fled to Holland. Amongst these was Sir Thomas Armstrong. At the request of some of his friends, there was a bill of exchange remitted to him; which was pretended to be sent him by my son-in-law, Mr Joseph Hayes. For this he was apprehended and tried for his life; but God, by a merciful providence, delivered him.

While I was endeavouring to help him what I could, coming to my own house about nine o'clock one night, I found a packet of letters left for me, which my servants had received about half an hour before. But who brought them they could not tell. When I opened them, I found one directed to my Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, and another to myself.

That to myself was full of treasonable words and threats, which as soon as I saw and read, I immediately sent it to my Lord Chief Justice by a servant, for I plainly saw it was to trepan me. But the Chief Justice not being at home they were delivered to one of his Clerks; who, reading the letter which was sent me, said he would deliver them to his master as soon as he came home. He farther told my servant he thought he knew the hand; which, when I heard, it was a farther confirmation that they were sent upon a design. But I never heard any more of the letters, although I expected I should have been sent for about them by my Lord Chief Justice. This storm blew over, although it proved the ruin of my son-in-law, and his wife, in a great measure.

Not long after, the King died, and James II. came to the crown. The summer after his coming, the Duke of Monmouth, with a party, came over with a few armed men that landed at Lyme. A young grandson of mine, William Hewling, being at board and school in Holland, came over with him, unknown to me or any of his friends; he being only about the age of nineteen years. His eldest brother also, Benjamin Hewling, conversing with those that

were under great dissatisfaction with seeing popery encouraged, and religion and liberty like to be invaded, did furnish himself with arms, and went to the said Duke. Both being taken prisoners after the fight, they were brought to Newgate, which to me was no small affliction.

It being given out, however, that the King would make only some few that were taken, examples, and that the rest, he would leave to his officers to compound for their lives;—I endeavoured, with their mother, to treat with a Great Man; and agreed to give three thousand pounds for their lives. But the face of things was soon altered, so that nothing but severity could be expected. And indeed we missed the right door; for the Lord Chief Justice finding agreements made with others and so little to himself, was the more provoked to use all manner of cruelty to the poor prisoners: so that few escaped. Amongst the rest, these two young men were executed.

But how graciously the Lord shewed himself to them, both in their behaviours before their trials, and at their deaths, the following account will shew to such as please to peruse it. I think it may be of use to leave it to you and your children, and to such as may read the same.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HEWLINGS.

Their object in engaging with Monmouth—Dispersion of his Army—Deliver themselves up to a Gentleman—Sent to Exeter—Put on board a frigate and carried to Newgate—State of their minds in prison—Sent down to the west to be tried—Their sister's account of their behaviour—One sent to Taunton, and the other detained at Dorchester—Particular account of Mr William Hewling—His behaviour at death, and sympathy of the people with him.—Letter from Hannah Hewling to her mother—Account of Mr Benjamin Hewling's death—His last letter to his mother—Kiffin's remarks.

THE gracious dealings of God manifested to some in dying hours have often been of great advantage to the living. They give them occasion to reflect on their own estate, and to look after the things of their peace before they be hid from their eyes; and also present great encouragement to strengthen the faith of those that have experienced the grace of God. To that end it is thought necessary, by parents especially, to preserve to their

children who remain, those blessed experiences which such have had whom God hath taken to himself.

Here therefore is presented, a true account of the admirable appearances of God towards two young men, Mr Benjamin Hewling, who died when he was about twenty-two years of age; and Mr William Hewling, who died before he arrived to twenty years. They engaged with the Duke of Monmouth, as their own words were, "for the English Liberties and the PROTESTANT RELIGION." For which Mr William Hewling was executed at Lyme, the 12th of September, 1685, and Mr Benjamin Hewling, at Taunton, the 30th of the same month. However severe men were to them, yet the blessed dispensation of God to them was such as hath made good his word, that "out of the mouths of babes he hath ordained strength, that he may still the enemy and avenger."

After the dispersing of the Duke's army, they fled and put to sea, but were driven back again, and with the hazard of their lives got ashore, over some dangerous rocks. They saw the country filled with soldiers; and being unwilling to fall into the

hands of the rabble, and no way of defence or escape remaining to them, they surrendered themselves prisoners to a gentleman, whose house was near the place where they landed, and were from thence sent to Exeter goal, the 12th of July. Remaining here some time, their behaviour was such, that, (being visited by many) it caused great respect towards them, even of those that were enemies to the cause they engaged in.

On the 27th of July, they were put on board the Swan frigate, in order to their being brought up to London. Their carriage on board was such as obtained great kindness from their commander, and all the other officers of the ship. Being brought into the river, Captain Richardson came and took them into his custody, and carried them to Newgate. Great irons were put upon them, and they were put apart from each other; no liberty being allowed for the nearest relation to see them, even in the presence of a keeper, notwithstanding all endeavours and entreaties used to obtain it. Though this treatment did greatly increase the grief of relations, God, who wisely ordereth all things for good to those for whom he intends grace and mercy, made this very restraint and hard usage, a blessed advan-

tage to their souls, as may appear by their own words. When after great importunity and charge, some of their near relations had leave to speak a few words to them before the keeper; they replied, "They were content with the will of God, whatever it should be."

Having been in Newgate three weeks, there was an order given to carry them down into the West, in order to their trial; which, being told them, they answered, "They were glad of it." That morning they went out of Newgate, several that beheld them, seeing them so cheerful, said, surely they had received their pardon, else they could never carry it with that courage and cheerfulness. This also must be observed, that from first to last, whatever hopes they received from friends, they still thought the contrary. They never were much affected with the hopes of pardon, or cast down, or the least discouraged at the most that man could do.

Of their journey to Dorchester, the keepers that went with them have given this account; that their courage was so great, serious, and christian, it made them admire to see and hear what they did, from such young men. A near relation that went

into the West to see the issue of things, and to perform whatever should be necessary for them, gives the following account.

At Salisbury, the 30th of August, I had the first opportunity of converse with them, and found them in a very excellent composure of mind. They declared their experience of the grace and goodness of God to them in all their sufferings; in supporting, strengthening them, and providing for them; and in turning the hearts of all those in whose hands they had been, both at Exeter and on ship board, to shew pity and favour to them. Although, since they came to Newgate, they were hardly used; and now in their journey loaded with heavy irons, and more inhumanly dealt with; they, with great cheerfulness, professed that they were better, and in a more happy condition than ever in their lives, from the sense they had of the pardoning love of God in Jesus Christ to their souls. They wholly referred themselves to their wise and gracious God, to choose for them life or death; expressing themselves thus:—"Any thing that pleaseth God—what he sees best, so be it—we know he is able to deliver; but if not, blessed be his name, death is not terrible now, but desirable." Mr Benjamin Hewling

particularly added: "As for the world there is nothing in it to make it worth while to live, except we may be serviceable to God therein;" and afterwards said, "Oh! God is a strong refuge, I have found him so indeed."

The next opportunity I had, was at Dorchester, where they were both carried, and remained together four days. By reason of their strait confinement, our conversation was much interrupted; but they had still the same presence and support from God—noway discouraged at the approach of their trial, nor at the event of it, whatever it should be.

The 6th of September, Mr Benjamin Hewling was ordered to Taunton, to be tried there. On taking my leave of him he said, "Oh! blessed be God for afflictions! I have found such happy effects from them, that I would not have been without them for all the world."

I remained still at Dorchester to wait the issue of Mr William Hewling's trial. After the trial, I had free access to him, and found his discourse was much filled with admirings of the grace of God in Christ, that had been manifested towards him in calling him

out of his natural state. He said, God by his Holy Spirit did suddenly seize upon his heart; when he thought not of it, in his retired abode in Holland, as it were secretly whispering in his heart, "Seek ye my face;" enabling him to answer his gracious call, and to reflect upon his own soul—shewing him the evil of sin and the necessity of Christ. From that time he had carried him on to a sensible adherence to Christ, for justification and eternal life. He said, hence he found a spring of joy and sweetness beyond the comforts of the whole earth.

He further said, he could not but admire the wonderful goodness of God, in so preparing him for what he was bringing him to, which then he thought not of, giving him hope of eternal life, before he called him to look death in the face; so that he did cheerfully resign his life to God before he came. Having sought his guidance in the affair, he said, both then and now, the cause did appear to him very glorious, notwithstanding all he had suffered in it, or what he further might: although for our sins, God had withheld those good things from us. But he said, God carried on his blessed work on his soul in and by all his sufferings, and whatever the will of God were—life or death, he knew it would be best for him.

After he had received his sentence, and had returned to prison, he said, "methinks I find my spiritual comforts increasing ever since my sentence. 'There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus. It is God that justifies, who shall condemn?"'

When I came to him the next morning, after he had received the news that he must die the following day, and in order to it was to be carried to Lyme that day, I found him in a more excellent, raised, and spiritual frame then before. He said he was satisfied, God had chosen best for him. He knows what the temptations of life might have been. I might have lived and forgotten God, but now I am going where I shall sin no more—Oh! it is a blessed thing to be freed from sin and to be with Christ—Oh! the riches of the love of God in Christ to sinners—Oh! how great were the sufferings of Christ for me; beyond all I can undergo! How great is that glory to which I am going! It will soon swallow up all our sufferings here.

When he was at dinner, just before his going to Lyme, he dropt many abrupt expressions of his inward joy, such as these—Oh! The grace of God!

The love of Christ! Oh! that blessed Supper of the Lamb! To be for ever with the Lord! He further said, "When I went to Holland, you knew not what snares, sins, and miseries I might fall into, or whether ever we should meet again. But now, you know whither I am going, and that we shall certainly have a most joyful meeting."

He said, pray give my particular recommendations to all my friends, with acknowledgments for all their kindnesses. I advise them all to make sure of an interest in Christ, for he is the only comfort when we come to die. One of the prisoners seemed to be troubled at the manner of the death they were to die. To whom he replied, I bless God I am reconciled to it all. Just as he was going to Lyme, he wrote these few lines to a friend; being hardly suffered to stay so long. "I am going to launch into eternity; I hope and trust into the arms of my blessed Redeemer, to whom I commit you and all my dear relations; my duty to my dear mother, and love to all my sisters, and the rest of my friends.

WILLIAM HEWLING."

As they passed through the town of Dorchester to Lyme, multitudes of people beheld them with

great lamentations; admiring his deportment at parting with his sister. As they passed upon the road between Lyme and Dorchester, his discourse was exceedingly spiritual, as those declared who were present. He took occasion from every thing to speak of the glory they were going to. Looking out on the country as he passed, he said this is a glorious creation; but what then is the Paradise of God to which we are going! 'tis but a few hours and we shall be there, and for ever with the Lord. At Lyme, just before they went to die, reading the 14th of John, 18th verse, he said to one of his fellow sufferers, here is a sweet promise for us. "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come unto you." Christ will be with us to the last.

To one taking leave of him, he said, Farewell till we meet in heaven. Presently I shall be with Christ. Oh! I would not change conditions with any in this world; I would not stay behind for ten thousand worlds. To another that asked him how he did now; he said, very well, blessed be God! And further asking him, if he could look death in the face with comfort, now it approached so near. He said yes; I bless God I can with great comfort. God hath made this night a good night unto me:

my comforts are much increased since I left Dorchester. Then taking leave of him, he said, Farewell, I shall see you no more. To which he replied, How! see me no more!! Yes, I hope to meet you in glory. To another that was by him to the last, he said, pray remember my dear love to my brother and sister, and tell them I desire they would comfort themselves, that I am gone to Christ, and we shall quickly meet in the glorious Mount Sion above.

Afterwards, he prayed for about three quarters of an hour, with the greatest fervency—Exceedingly blessing God for Jesus Christ; adoring the riches of his grace in him—for all the glorious fruits of it towards him—praying for the peace of the church of God, and of these nations in particular—all with such eminent assistance of the Spirit of God, as convinced, astonished, and melted into pity, the hearts of all present, even the most malicious adversaries;—forcing tears and expressions of regret from them. Some saying they knew not what would become of *them* after death, but it was evident *he* was going to great happiness.

When he was just going out of the world, with a joyful countenance, he said—Oh! now my joy

and comfort is, that I have a Christ to go to; and so sweetly resigned his spirit to Christ, the 12th of September, 1685.

An officer who had shewn so malicious a spirit, as to call the prisoners devils, when he was guarding them down, was now so convinced, that he afterwards told a person of quality, that he was never so affected in his life as by his cheerful carriage and fervent prayer. It was such as he believed was never heard, especially from one so young. He said also, I believe had the Lord Chief Justice been there, he could not have let him die.

The Sheriff having given his body to be buried, although it was brought from the place of execution without any notice given, yet very many of the town, to the number of about two hundred, came to accompany it. And several young women, of the best of the town, laid him in his grave, in Lyme church yard, the 13th of September, 1685. After which his sister wrote the following letter to her mother.

" Although I have nothing to acquaint my dear mother withal, but what is most afflictive to sense;

both as to the determination of God's will, and as to my present apprehension concerning my brother Benjamin, still remaining; yet there is such an abundant consolation mixed in both, that I only wanted an opportunity to pay this duty. God having wrought so glorious a work on both their souls, in revealing Christ to them, that death is become their friend. My brother William having already, with the greatest joy, declared to those that were with him to the last, that he would not change conditions with any that were to remain in this world; and he desired, that his relations would comfort themselves, that he is gone to Christ. My brother Benjamin expects not long to continue in this world, and is exceedingly willing to leave it, when God shall call. Being fully satisfied, that God will choose that which is best for him, and for us all. By these things, God doth greatly support me, and I hope you also, my dear mother, which was, and is, my brother's great desire. There is still some room for prayer for one; and God having so answered, though not in kind, we have encouragement still to wait on him. Honoured mother, your dutiful daughter, ——————

When I came to Taunton to Mr Benjamin Hewling, he had received the news of his brother

having gone to die with so much comfort and joy; and afterwards of the continued goodness of God in increasing it to the end. He expressed himself to this effect:—We have no cause to fear death, if the presence of God be with us. There is no evil in it; the sting being taken away. It is nothing but our ignorance of the glory which the saints pass into by death, that makes it appear dark for ourselves, or our relations. If we be in Christ, what is this world that we should desire an abode in it? It is all vain and unsatisfying; full of sin and misery. He intimated also his own cheerful expectations, soon to follow his brother.

He discovered then, and all along, great seriousness, and sense of spiritual and eternal things:—complaining of nothing in his present circumstances, but want of a place for retirement, to converse more uninterruptedly with God and his own soul. His lonely time in Newgate, he said, was the sweetest in his whole life.

He said, God having some time before struck his heart (when he thought of the hazard of his life) to some serious sense of his past life, and the great

consequence of death and eternity; shewing him that they were the only happy persons that had secured their eternal states. He had also shewn him the folly and madness of the ways of sin, and his own thraldom therein, with his utter inability to deliver himself; and also the necessity of Christ for salvation. He said, that it was not without terror and amazement for some time, the sight of unpardoned sin, with eternity before him. But God wonderfully opened to him the riches of his free grace in Christ Jesus for poor sinners; enabling him to look to a crucified Christ alone for salvation.

He said, this blessed work was in some measure carried on upon his soul, in all his business and hurries in the army; but never sprung forth so fully and sweetly till his close confinement in Newgate. There he saw Christ and all spiritual objects more clearly, and embraced them more strongly. There he experienced the blessedness of a reconciled state, the excellency of the ways of holiness, and the delightfulness of communion with God. This remained with very deep and apparent impressions on his soul, while he frequently expressed his admiration of the grace of God towards him.

Perhaps my friends, he said, may think this summer the sadest time of my life; but I bless God, it hath been the sweetest and most happy of it all. Nay, there is nothing else worth the name of happiness. I have in vain sought satisfaction from the things of this world, but I never found it. But now I have found rest for my soul in God alone. Oh! how great is our blindness by nature, that till God open our eyes, we can see no excellency in spiritual things, but spend our precious time in pursuing shadows, and remain deaf to all the invitations of grace and the glorious offers of the gospel! How just is God in depriving us of that we so much slighted and abused! Oh! his infinite patience and goodness, that after all, he should yet sanctify any methods to bring a poor sinner to himself. Oh! electing love! Distinguishing grace! What great cause have I to admire and adore it!

What an amazing consideration, he said, is the suffering of Christ for sin, to bring us to God! His sufferings from wicked men were exceeding great; but alas! what were these to the dolors of his soul under the infinite wrath of God. This mystery of grace and love is enough to swallow up our thoughts to all eternity.

As to his own death, he would often say, he saw no reason to expect any other. I know God is infinitely able to deliver, and I am sure he will do it, if it be for his glory and my good; in which, I bless God, I am fully satisfied. It is all my desire that he would choose for me, and then I am sure it will be best, whatever it be. For, truly, unless God has some work for me to do in the world, for his service and glory, I see nothing else to make life desirable. In the present state of affairs, there is nothing to cast our eyes upon but sin, sorrow, and misery. And, indeed were things ever so according to our desires, in the present state of affairs, it is but the world still, which will never be a resting place. Heaven is the only state of rest and happiness. There we shall be perfectly freed from sin and temptation; and enjoy God without interruption for ever.

Speaking of the disappointment of their expectations in the work they had undertaken, he said, with reference to the glory of God, the prosperity of the gospel, and the delivery of the people of God, we have great cause to lament it; but for that outward prosperity that would have accompanied it, it is but of small moment in itself, as it could not satisfy, so neither could it have been

abiding. For, at longest, death would have put an end to it all. Adding also, nay, perhaps, we might have been so foolish as to have been taken with that part of it, with the neglect of our eternal concerns; and then I am sure our present circumstances are incomparably better.

He frequently expressed great concern for the glory of God, and affection to his people—saying, if my death may advance God's glory, and hasten the deliverance of his people, it is enough; and that it was a great comfort to him, to think of so great a priyilege as an interest in all their prayers.

In his converse, he particularly valued and delighted in those persons in whom he saw most holiness shining. He also manifested great pity to the souls of others:—saying, that the remembrance of our former vanity may well cause compassion to others who are in that state. In his converse, he prompted others to seriousness, telling them death and eternity are such weighty concerns, that they deserve the utmost intenseness of our minds; for the way to receive death cheerfully is to prepare for it seriously. And if God should please to spare our lives, surely we have the same reason to be se-

rious, and spend our remaining days in his fear and service. He also took great care, that the worship of God, which they were in a capacity of maintaining there, might be duly performed; as reading, praying, and singing of psalms, in which he evidently took great delight.

For those three or four days before their deaths, when there was a general report that no more should die, he said I don't know what God hath done beyond our expectations. If he doth prolong my life, I am sure it is his—all his own, and by his grace I will wholly devote it to him.

But the 29th of September, about ten or eleven o'clock at night, we found the deceitfulness of this report; they being then told that they must die the next morning. This was very unexpected as to the suddenness of it; but herein God glorified his power, and grace, and faithfulness, in giving suitable support and comfort by his blessed presence. Upon my coming to him at that time, I found him greatly composed. He said, though men designed to surprise,—God doth and will perform his word—"to be a very present help in time of trouble." The next morning when I saw him again, his cheer-

fulness and comfort were much increased: waiting for the Sheriffs, with the greatest sweetness and serenity of mind, saying, now the will of God is determined, to whom I have referred it, and he hath chosen that which most certainly is best.

Afterwards, with a smiling countenance, he discoursed of the glory of heaven; remarking with much delight, the 3d., 4th., and 5th. verses of the 22d. chapter of the Revelation—"And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him. And they shall see his face; and his name shall be on their foreheads. And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever." Then he said, Oh! what a happy state is this! Shall we be loath to go and enjoy it. Then he desired to be read to him, 2d Cor. v. 1—11. "For we know, that if our earthly house of *this* tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven: If so be that being clothed, we shall not be found naked.

For we that are in *this* tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now he that hath wrought us for the self same thing, *is* God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit. Therefore *we are* always confident, knowing that whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord: (For we walk by faith, not by sight.) We are confident, *I say*, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord. Wherefore we labour, that whether present or absent, we may be accepted of him. For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things *done* in his body, according to that he hath done, whether *it be* good or bad."

His comforts still increasing, he expressed his sweet hopes, and good assurance of his interest in this glorious inheritance, and that he was now going to the possession of it. He saw so much of this happy change, that he said death was more desirable than life; he had rather die than live any longer here. As to the manner of his death, he said, when I have considered others under these circumstances, I have thought it very dreadful, but now God hath called me

to it; I bless God, I have quite other apprehensions of it. I can now cheerfully embrace it as an easy passage to glory; and though death separates from the enjoyment of each other here, it will be but a very short time, and then we shall meet in such enjoyments as now we cannot conceive, and for ever rejoice in each other's happiness.

Then, reading the Scriptures, and musing with himself, he intimated the great comfort God conveyed to his soul by them;—saying, O! what an invaluable treasure is this blessed Word of God in all conditions. Here is a store of strong consolation. To one desiring his Bible, he said—No! this shall be my companion to the last moment of my life. Thus praying together; reading, conversing, and meditating on heavenly things, they waited the end.

When the Sheriff came, void of all pity and civility, he hurried them away, scarce suffering them to take their leave of their friends; but notwithstanding this, and the doleful mourning of all around them,—the joyfulness of his countenance was increased. Thus he left his prison, and thus he appeared in the sledge; where they sat above half an

hour before the officers could force the horses to draw; at which they were greatly enraged, there being no visible obstruction from weight or way. But at last, the Mayor and Sheriff hauled them forwards themselves, Balaam like, driving the horses.

When they came to the place of execution, which was surrounded with spectators; many who waited their coming with great sorrow, said, that when they saw him and them come with such cheerfulness and joy, and evidence of the presence of God with them, it made death appear with another aspect.—They first embraced each other with the greatest affection. Then two of the elder persons praying audibly, they joining with great seriousness. Then he desired leave of the Sheriff to pray particularly; but he would not grant it; only asked him, if he would pray for the king? He answered, I pray for all men. He then requested they might sing a psalm; the Sheriff told them it must be with ropes about their necks, which they cheerfull accepted; and sung with such heavenly joy and sweetness, that many present said, it both broke and rejoiced their hearts. Thus, in the experience of the delightfulness of praising God on earth, he

willingly closed his eyes on a vain world, to pass to that eternal employment, Sept. 30th 1685.

All present, of all sorts, were exceedingly affected and amazed. Some officers who before had insultingly said, surely these persons have no thoughts of death, but will find themselves surprized by it; said afterwards, that they now saw he and they had something extraordinary within, that carried them through with such joy. Others of them said, that they were so convinced of their happiness, that they would be glad to change conditions with them. All the soldiers in general, and all others, lamented exceedingly; saying, that it was so sad a thing to see them so cut off, they scarce knew how to bear it. Some of the most malicious in the place, from whom nothing but railing was expected, said, (as they were carried to their graves, in Taunton church-yard, voluntarily accompanied by most in the town) that these persons had left sufficient evidence that they were now glorified saints in heaven.

A great officer in the king's army has been often heard to say, that if you would learn to die, "Go to the young men of Taunton." Much more was uttered by them, which shewed the blessed and glorious

frame of their hearts, (to the glory of divine grace) but this is what occurs to memory. Mr Benjamin Hewling, about two hours before his death, wrote the following letter to his mother, which shewed the great composure of his mind.

Taunton, 30th September, 1685.

HONOURED MOTHER,

That news which I know you have a long while feared, and we expected, I must now acquaint you with, that, notwithstanding the hopes you gave in your two last letters, Warrants are come down for my execution, and within these few hours I expect it to be performed. Blessed be the Almighty God, that gives comfort and support in such a day How ought we to magnify his holy name for all his mercies, that when we were running on in a course of sin, he should stop us in our full career, and shew us that Christ, whom we had pierced; and out of his free grace enable us to look upon him with an eye of faith, believing him able to save to the uttermost all such as come to him. Oh! admirable long suffering and patience of God, that when we were dishonouring his name, he did not take that time to bring honour to himself by our destruction. But he delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but

had rather he should turn to him and live. He has many ways of bringing his own to himself. Blessed be his holy name, that through affliction he has taught my heart to be in some measure conformable to his will, which worketh patience, and patience worketh experience, and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed.

I bless God, I am not ashamed of the cause for which I lay down my life, and as I have engaged in it and fought for it, so now I am going to seal it with my blood. The Lord still carry on the same cause which hath been long on foot! And though we die in it and for it, I question not but in his own due time he will raise up other instruments, more worthy to carry it on to the glory of his name, and the advancement of his church and people. Honoured mother, I know there has been nothing left undone by you or my friends, for the saving of my life, for which I return many hearty acknowledgments to yourself and them all; and it is my dying request to you and them, to pardon all undutifulness and unkindness in every relation.

Pray give my duty to my grandfather and grandmother, service to my uncles, and aunts, and my

dear love to all my sisters; to every relation and friend a particular recommendation. Pray tell them all how precious an interest in Christ is, when we come to die, and advise them never to rest in a Christless state; for if we are his, it is no matter what the world do to us. They can but kill the body, and blessed be God, the soul is out of their reach. For I question not, but their malice wishes the damnation of that as well as the destruction of the body; which has too evidently appeared by their deceitful, flattering promises.

I commit you all to the care and protection of God, who has promised to be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and to supply the want of every relation. The Lord God of heaven be your comfort under these sorrows, and your refuge from the miseries we may easily foresee coming upon poor England, and the poor distressed people of God in it. The Lord carry you through this vale of tears with a resigning, submissive spirit, and at last bring you to himself in glory; where, I question not, but you will meet your dying son,

BENJAMIN HEWLING.

Only for myself, it was, and is, a great comfort to me, to observe what testimony they left behind of the blessed interest they had in the Lord Jesus, and their humble and holy confidence of their eternal happiness. One thing I think necessary to observe, that at the trial of William Hewling, the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies was pleased in public court to tell him, that his grandfather did as well deserve that death, which he was likely to suffer, as he did. Which I mention to the end, that thereby it may be seen what an eye they had upon me for my ruin, if the Lord, who hath watched over me for good, had not prevented.

CHAPTER VIII.

KIFFIN'S PUBLIC CONDUCT.

The Court attempts to introduce Popery—The Commons opposed to it—Kiffin employs his influence among the Dissenters against it—The King nominates him to be an Alderman—Is very averse to accept the office—Takes legal advice—Gives £50 towards a City Dinner to the King—Takes the office—Arbitrary conduct of the Court—His behaviour as Alderman—Resigns the office—Concluding reflections—Address to his children.

THIS great storm being over, it did, in a great measure, effect that which was intended by them who raised it. For now, there appeared no difficulty in the way, but Popery might be set up, and that there would be little or no stop to that design. Means were used with the Members of the House of Commons, to promise, upon the sitting of Parliament, to take off the Parliamentary test, which was the only hinderance to Roman Catholics being chosen Parliament men. They did, however, generally refuse the making any such promise, and the

insolency of the Papists in their meetings, which now began to be more and more public, did so much alarm, both the Ministers of the Church of England, and also all true Protestants in general; that the interest of Popery rather abated, and dissatisfaction grew.

A new project, therefore, was set on foot, to engage the Protestant Dissenters, by giving them the liberty of their meetings; and promising them equal authority in the nation with other men. But this was in the tail of it, to engage them thereby to promote the taking off the test; and to strengthen the Popish interest, by setting the Protestant Dissenters against the Protestants of the Church of England. This plot being carried on with all diligence, took with several Dissenters—but indeed they were but few, and for the generality, of the meaner sort. William Penn being, indeed, the head of that party.

I thought it my duty, to do all I could to prevent those Dissenters of my acquaintance, from having any hand therein; but from the sense they had of their former sufferings, and the hopes of finding all things as was promised, could not prevail,

In a little after, a great temptation attended me, which was a commission from the King, to be one of the Aldermen of the city of London; which, as soon as I heard of it, I used all the means I could to be excused, both by some lords near the King, and also by Sir Nicholas Butler, and Mr Penn. But it was all in vain; I was told that they knew I had an interest that might serve the King, and although they knew my sufferings were great, in cutting off my two grand-children, and losing their estates, yet it should be made up to me, both in their estates, and also in what honour or advantage I could reasonably desire for myself.

But I thank the Lord, those proffers were no snares to me. Being fully possessed in my judgment, that the design was the total ruin of the Protestant religion, which I hope I can say, was, and is, dearer to me than my life; I remained without accepting the office, from the time I received summons to take it, above six weeks. The then Lord Mayor, Sir John Peake, then said in Court, that I ought to be sent to Newgate; and in a few days after, I understood it was intended to put me into the Crown Office, and to proceed with all severity

against me. Which, when I heard, I went to the ablest counsel for advice.

One of those I stated my case to, is now a Chief Judge in the nation. He told me my danger was every way great; for if I accepted to be an Alderman, I ran the hazard of five hundred pounds. And if I did not accept, as the Judges then were, I might be fined by them, ten, twenty, or thirty thousand pounds; even what they pleased. So that I thought it better for me to run the hazard of five hundred pounds, which was certain, than be exposed to such fines as might be the ruin of myself and family.

I forbore, however, taking the place of Alderman for some time after. It happened that the Aldermen then sitting agreed to invite the King to dinner on the Lord Mayor's day, and laid down fifty pounds each Alderman to defray the charge. This made some of them the more earnest for my holding, and they were pleased to tell me, I did forbear to excuse my fifty pounds. To prevent any such charge against me, I desired a friend to acquaint my Lord Mayor and the Court, that I would deposit my fifty pounds with them, which I accordingly sent them, yet delaying

accepting the office. When my Lord Mayor's day came, and the dinner prepared for the King, I understood, the next day, that there had been invited to the feast the Pope's Nuncio andseveral other Priests, who accordingly dined with them Had I known they had been invited, I should hardly have parted with my fifty pounds towards that feast.'

The next Court day, I came to the Court, and took upon me the office of Alderman. In the commission, I was also a Justice of the Peace, and one of the Lieutenancy; but I never meddled with either of those places: neither did I interfere in any act of power in that court, touching causes between man and man; but only such things as concerned the welfare of the city and the good of the orphans, whose distressed condition called for help; although we were able to do little towards it.

We had frequently orders from the King to send to the several companies, to put great numbers of the Livery Men out of the privilege of being Livery Men, and others to be put in their rooms. Most of those who were so turned out were Protestants of the Church of England. There has been a list of seven hundred at a time sent to be discharged,

although no crime was laid to their charge. From this, all men might see to what a deplorable state this city was like to be in, had not the Lord by an eminent hand of providence prevented. On hearing of the preparation making by the Prince of Orange; the several charters belonging to the companies were again returned to them, and the said Livery Men were also restored to their former liberties.

I have given this brief account of these things, that you may see how good the Lord hath been, to prevent the designs then in hand to destroy both religion and liberty. I heartly desire that both myself and all others concerned, may acknowledge the great goodness of God herein, that he may have the glory of all our delivering mercies; and that you my children, grand-children and great-grand children may remember them with thankful hearts. This also must further to the praise of God towards me, be remembered, that during the time of my being in the office of Alderman, (my lot being, to be Alderman of the Ward of Cheap,) although I was a stranger to most of the Ward, yet I found so much respect from them as could not be expected by me. Having been in that office about nine months, I was discharged of it to my very great satisfaction.

I leave these several providences and mercies behind me, that you may consider on them. I have tasted of the goodness of God, and his favour towards me from my youth; it being now sixty years since it pleased the Lord to give me a taste of his rich grace and mercy in Jesus Christ. Although my unprofitableness under these mercies and providences that hath attended me, hath been very great, they are not to be looked upon as products of chance; as many do serve experiences and deliverances, which they receive from God in the course of their lives: but are fruits of the care and goodness which God is pleased to shew to his poor people. While in this world there is not any design hatched against them for their ruin, but they are rescued from it by the special care and providence of God. I may say, by experience, if the Lord had not been my help, many a time I had been swallowed up quick.

I leave these few experiences with you, desiring the Lord to bless you, and to bless them to you. Above all I pray for you, that you may in a special manner look after the great concerns of your souls—To know God and Jesus Christ is eternal life. Endeavour to be diligent. Inquire after, and be established in the great doctrines of the gospel; which

are of absolute necessity to salvation. I must expect every day to leave this world; having lived in it much longer than I expected, being now in the seventy seventh year of my age. Yet I know not what my eyes may see before my change—The world is full of confusions—the last times are upon us. The signs of them are very visible. Iniquity abounds, and the love of many in religion waxes cold. God is, by his providence, shaking the earth under our feet. There is no sure foundation of rest and peace but only in Jesus Christ; to whose grace I commend you.

Notes and Additions.

NOTES AND ADDITIONS.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

Note I.

In 1625, *being nine years of age*—p. 2.

From this it would appear, that Mr Kiffin was born about the year 1616. His parents seem to have been in respectable circumstances, but he gives no account of them. One *Maur. Kyffin*, was the author of "*The Blessedness of Bryttaine*," 4to. Lond. 1588: but whether he was related to our Kiffin, I cannot say. In the year referred to by Kiffin, the plague raged exceedingly in London. It was the first year of Charles II.; who, in consequence of the plague, was under the necessity of removing the Parliament from London to Oxford.

Note II.

I was put apprentice to a mean calling—p. 2.

His master was the noted John Lilburn, who

made a considerable figure during the civil wars. He was a Porter Brewer, and Cooper, in London; but afterwards obtained a Colonel's Commission in the Parliamentary Army. He was fined, whipped, and imprisoned by the Star Chamber, fought against Charles, opposed the Long Parliament, and resisted the power of Cromwell; by whom he was tried and banished. "He," says Anthony Wood, "being naturally a great trouble-world in all the variety of governments, became a hodge-podge of religion, the chief ringleader of the levellers, a great proposal maker, and modeller of state, and publisher of several seditious pamphlets." Towards the end of his life, "he fell into the acquaintance of the Quakers, and became one of them, and settled at Eltham in Kent, where he died, Aug. 29, 1657." Judge Jenkins said of him, "If the world was emptied of all but John Lilburn, Lilburn would quarrel with John, and John with Lilburn."—Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 101.

Note III.

Mr Thomas Foxley—p. 3.

Mr Foxley was a learned and zealous puritan, and one of the many excellent men who suffered most severely from the persecuting spirit of Archbishop Laud. He was closely imprisoned for twenty months, without knowing his crime, and his wife, and four small children reduced to extreme wretchedness. He was set at liberty by the Long

Parliament, and was one of the witnesses against Laud at his trial.—Brooks Puritans, vol. ii. p. 497.

Note IV.

Mr John Norton—p. 3.

Mr Norton was born at Stortford in Hertfordshire, in the year 1606. He was educated at Cambridge. Disapproving of the constitution of the Church of England, and not being able to enjoy religious liberty in his own country, he went to New England in 1635, where he was honoured to be long and extensively useful. He was the author of the *first* Latin work produced in America—"Responsio ad Apolonium," 1648—A Defence of the Congregational System, in reply to Apolonius, a Dutch Presbyterian. Mr Norton was a profound and elegant classical scholar, and an eloquent preacher. He died in 1663.—Mather's Magnalia, Book III. p. 52.

Note V.

Mr John Davenport—p. 4.

Mr Davenport was another of the Non-Conformist Ministers, who took refuge in New England. He was many years Minister of the Colony at Newhaven, and afterwards succeeded Mr Cotton, at Boston, where he died in 1670. He appears to have been an excellent Christian, a laborious scholar, and a successful Minister of Jesus Christ.—Magnalia, Book III. p. 51.

NOTE VI.

Many weeks I continued in this great distress—p. 7.

The Christian reader will discover a considerable resemblance between the early experience of Mr Kiffin, and that of the celebrated author of the Pilgrim's Progress. Both suffered great distress of mind, and the conversation of others overheard, produced important impressions on both. Some persons may think the notice of such minute circumstances trifling. But nothing is trifling which has an influence on the formation of character. Independently of the fact, that God often blesses the most seemingly accidental occurrence to promote the spiritual benefit of an individual, as Mr Foster justly observes, "Most persons can recollect some few sentences, or conversations, which made so deep an impression, perhaps, in some instances, they can scarcely tell why, that they have been thousands of times recalled, while all the rest have been forgotten; or they can advert to some striking incident, coming in aid of instruction, or being of itself a forcible instruction, which they seem even now to see as clearly as when it happened, and of which they will retain a perfect idea to the end of life."—Foster's Essays, p. 16.

NOTE VII.

Mr Moulin—p. 7.

This person I suppose, was Mr Lewis Du Moulin, the son of Peter Du Moulin, a French Protes-

tant Minister. He was made Professor of History, at Cambridge, by the Parliamentary Commissioners; but was ejected at the Restoration. He was the writer of a considerable number of books. The title page of one of them, he had to change five times, to escape the censors of the press. If I may judge from the title of another, he must have been a high and injudicious Calvinist. What a pity he did not change both the title and the subject? "Moral reflections on the number of the elect; proving plainly from Scripture evidence, that not one in a hundred thousand, nay probably not one in a million, from Adam down to our times, shall be saved!" What a foolish opinion! He died in 1680.

NOTE VIII.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin—p. 9.

Thomas Goodwin was an eminently learned and devoted man. His numerous writings discover the depth of his acquaintance with the Scriptures, and his anxiety to be useful. The work which was of service to Kiffin, contains many judicious observations under a paradoxical title—"The child of light walking in darkness." I am disposed to think that the passage, Isaiah, l. 10. relates not to the subject of spiritual desertion, but to the dark visitations of Providence. Goodwin is the person who conversed with Cromwell on his death-bed; and if the conversation be correctly reported, comforted him, by a very improper view of the perseverance of the saints.

This conversation, which has so often been quoted, as a proof of the fanaticism of Oliver's chaplains, is remarkably like a conversation between the Earl of Morton, who made so considerable a figure in Scotland during the reigns of Mary and James; and John Durie, and Walter Balcanquel, two of the ministers of Edinburgh. Morton was condemned to be executed, whether justly or unjustly, does not concern the present matter. Previously to his execution, he was visited in prison by the above ministers, to whom "he expressed much apprehension, that the justice of God would descend upon one who had been so great a sinner." To this the minister replied, "Be of good courage, and even in respect of the justice of God, be assured that your sins will not be laid to your charge, and that because God is just; for the justice of God will not permit him to take twice payment for one thing; as we know that in the common dealings of men, he that is a just man will not crave payment of that whereof he hath been already satisfied; and therefore seeing that Christ hath already satisfied for our sins, and paid God for the uttermost farthing he could crave of us, he cannot lay our sins to our charge, being satisfied in Christ, so that his justice will not suffer him to take payment twice for one thing." Unto this he answered; "Truly this is very good."* If this conversation be correctly reported,

* Cook's Hist. of the Ch. of Scot. Vol. I. p. 317. Note.

it shews that fanaticism has not been confined to the chaplains of the enthusiastic Protector. The statements of Durie and Balcanquel are as gross misapplications of the doctrine of the atonement, as that of Goodwin, is of the doctrine of Christian perseverance. I think it probable, however, that we have an incorrect report of both conversations, and that things are omitted which would place the views of the ministers in a very different, or at least less objectionable light.

Note IX.

Mr Thomas Hooker.

Thomas Hooker was another of the divines who fled from England to take refuge in America. It is much to be regreted, that the work referred to by Kiffin, and the doctrine of preparation for Christ, are so much calculated to obscure the way of salvation, and to lead the mind of enquirers more to something about themselves than the finished work of the Redeemer, and the freeness of forgiveness through his blood. The apostles invariably preached Christ, in all the fulness of his blessings, and pressed the immediate reception of them on all who listened to their preaching. Hooker became the first minister of Hertford, in New England, and is regarded to this day with the utmost respect in the colony. Dr. Dwight calls him the "The Father of New England;" and says, "he was the wisest of all

those distinguished colonists, who had a peculiar influence on the early concerns of this country."

DWIGHT'S TRAVELS, Vol. I. p. 204—6.

NOTE X.

Mr John Goodwin—p. 10.

I am much inclined to think, that the character of this celebrated person has not received impartial justice. That he entertained some mistaken views, both of religion and politics, is undoubted; but he possessed no ordinary portion of strength and originality of mind, a large measure of disinterested zeal, and a capacity for usefulness, which was exceeded by few of his contemporaries. The judiciousness of his preaching appears from Kiffin's account of it, and several of his works will amply repay the labour of repeated perusual. The preceding part of this note was written before the publication of Mr Jackson's "Life of Goodwin." That work fully confirms the opinion I have expressed. Goodwin was one of the earliest and most enlightened friends of civil and religious liberty, and suffered much on their account. Mr Jackson, however, might have defended his hero without shewing so much displeasure at other persons, who are in various ways introduced in his work. It is a book which contains some curious research and information. D'Israeli, in his late work, has honoured John Goodwin as one of Cromwell's chaplains; a post which he never held. After narrowly escaping with his life at the Restoration, Goodwin died in 1665.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

Note XI.

Kiffin's religious changes—p. 13.

It is somewhat singular, that Mr Kiffin gives no account of his becoming a Baptist. This event is said to have taken place about the year 1638. He soon appeared as a leading and very active member of that body; and for more than half a century, was pastor of a Baptist church, which met in Devonshire Square. With a zeal characteristic of a new convert, he boldly and openly avowed his faith; when it must have exposed him to considerable danger. His name appears at the top of the list of subscribers to the Confession of Faith, published by the seven Baptist Churches in London, in 1644.

Determined to contend for the faith, as well as to publish it, he several times engaged in those public disputes, or polemical battles, which were then frequently held. In these contests of words, the skill and prowess of the combatants were exerted to the utmost. Judges declared the laws of the combat, and regulated the onset and the defence.—The people applauded or hooted, as they happened to be moved, and the battle was generally a drawn one, in which both sides claimed the victory. The

age of Kiffin was in fact the age of theological chivalry; in which the most devoted homage was professed to truth, and the most heroic sacrifices cheerfully made, to promote its interests.

One of these meetings, for disputing the rights of infant baptism, was held at Southwark, on the 17th of October 1642; in which the combatant on the one side was the redoubtable Daniel Featley, and a Scotchman, and William Kiffin on the other. Of this curious rencounter Featley published an account in a 4to volume, entitled, "The Dippers Dipt, or the Anabaptists ducked and plunged over head and ears, at a disputation in Southwark," 1645. Those who would judge of the modesty of the age, have only to consult the engraved title of this ridiculous work: in the volume itself, the vapouring and unfairness of Featley are more prominent than the strength of his argument. After having, according to his own account, "so stunnied the venturous Scotchman with a blow, that he gave in and spake no more for a good space;" he introduces his other antagonist, of whom he says, "This Cufin is said to be one of the first that subscribed the Anabaptist Confessions. How he got rid of Cufin, he does not tell us. But after having, "blankt" one or two more besides the Scotchman, we are informed that, "The issue of the conference was; first, the Knights, Ladies and Gentlemen" (mark the chivalrous language of the victor), "give the Doctor great thanks.

Secondly, three of the antagonists went away discontented; the fourth seemed in part satisfied, and desired a second meeting. But the next day conconferring with the rest of that sect, he altered his resolution; and neither he nor any of that sect, ever since that day, troubled the Doctor, or any other minister of the borough, with a second challenge. *Finis.*"

Kiffin was neither finished nor discouraged by this alleged discomfiture: for he had the temerity afterwards to challenge that far-famed calumniator, Gangrene Edwards, in the following curious letter.

"SIR,

"You stand as one professing yourself to be instructed by Christ, with abilities from God, to throw down error; and therefore to that end, do preach every third day. May it therefore please you, and those that employ you in that work, to give them leave, whom you so brand, as publicly to object against what you say, when your sermon is ended, as you declare yourself. And we hope it will be an increase of further light to all that fear God, and put a large advantage into your hands, if you have the truth on your side, to cause it to shine with more evidence, and I hope we shall do it with moderation as becometh christians. Yours,

WILLIAM KIFFIN."

It does not appear that the Presbyterian champion took up the glove, which was thus handsomely thrown down; but it afforded him a most desirable opportunity for defaming his opponent. This he accordingly did as follows: "Another of these fellows, who counts himself inferior to none of the rest of his seduced brethren, one whose name is Will. Kiffin, sometime servant to a brewer, whose name is John Lilburn; this man is now become a pretended preacher, and to that end hath, by his enticing words, seduced and gathered a schismatical rabble of deluded children, servants and people, without either parents' or masters' consent. This truth is known by some of a near relation to me, whose giddy headed children and servants are his poor slavish proselytes. For a further manifestation of him in a pamphlet called the Confession of Faith of the seven Anabaptistical Churches; there he is written first as metropolitan of that fraternity. I could relate, if time would permit, somewhat I have had to do with him, in which he appeared to me to be a mountebank."—GANGRENA, Part I. p. 6.

The same writer furnishes us with a curious account of a scene at Kiffin's meeting-house; which I insert as a further illustration of the state of the times. "I was informed for certain, from the testimony of an honest godly man, that would not tell an untruth for ten thousand pounds, who was also an ear witness: that at Kiffin the Anabaptists

church, when their exercises were finished, a paper was given in to know a reason, why they met every first day of the week, according to the custom of the nations? And why about nine o'clock, according to the custom of the nations? And why they preached and prayed so long, according to the custom of the nations? At the same time also a woman spoke in that church, and some cried, *speak out*. Whereupon Kiffin told the church, that he would relate the whole matter, which was:—That this woman being sick, she sent for him. He coming to her, prayed and anointed her with oil upon her breast and stomach; but yet she did not mend upon it. Whereupon she again sent for him. He, remembering the words of the apostle, *that it was the elders of the church*, he took with him his brother Patience, and so they prayed over her, and anointed her with oil, and she was raised up, and desired that thanks might be given to God for it." GANGRENA, Part II. p. 44.

There is probably some caricature in this account; but Kiffin was certainly a firm believer in the ordinance of anointing with oil. For in the life of Hansard Knollys, a baptist minister, edited, I believe, by Mr Kiffin, we have an account of a similar affair, in the case of Knollys himself. "Soon after I was set at liberty," he says, "at the Sessions in the Old Bailey, God made me his prisoner, by a sharp and painful distemper in my bowels, which

brought me near to my grave. But in time of my greatest extremity, God remembered mercy, and restored my life from death. No tongue can express my pains; yet God gave me much patience, wherein I possessed my soul. Two learned, well practised, and judicious doctors of physic, had daily visited me, and consulted my cure several days together, and I was fully persuaded, that they did what possibly they could to effect a cure, and knew also that God did not succeed their honest and faithful endeavours with his blessing. I resolved to take no more physic; but would apply that holy ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, the great Physician of value, James, v. 14, 15. I got Mr Kiffin, and Mr Vavasor Powel, who prayed over me, and anointed me with oil, in the name of the Lord, and the Lord did hear their prayer and heal me."

It appears from Whiston's Memoirs, (who was himself a believer in the ordinance of anointing) that the practice was frequently observed among the Baptist Churches, during the early period of the last century. These, and similar facts, afford curious illustrations of the weakness and eccentricities of the human intellect. Kiffin and many of his friends were evidently shrewd, strong-minded men; and yet it is plain, they had a considerable portion of enthusiasm or credulity in their religion. Let them not be scoffed at as visionary fanatics on that account. Even the mind of Johnson was tinctured with su-

perstition; and those who can find apologies for the passports to eternity, furnished by a Romish Confessor, or repose with confidence on the last services of any human priest, are not entitled to scowl with contempt on the weakness of Major Bridgenorth, or his party.

Note XII.

Those very men in the Synod—p. 14.

He refers to the Westminster Assembly. Almost all the persons who composed this body were originally Conformists. They adopted their nonconforming principles gradually; and many of them were driven farther than they would ever have gone from the church, by the conduct of its leaders, and the treatment they experienced from government.

Note XIII.

Mr Glover—p. 14.

I can find no account of any minister of this name, who went to New England. No such person appears in Mather's lists, where it ought to be, had Mr Glover gone to America. Calamy mentions Mr Hugh Glover, who was ejected from Finchingfield, in Essex: perhaps this was the person referred to by Kiffin.

Note XIV.

Mr Burroughs—p. 14.

This was Jeremiah Burroughs, one of the dis-

senting brethren in the Westminster Assembly; who died in 1646, before its conclusion; and whom Granger describes as "a man of learning, candour, and modesty, and of an exemplary and irreproachable life."—Biog. Hist. vol. II. p. 193.

Note XV.

Lord Brooke—p. 18.

Lord Brooke was one of the most active and distinguished leaders of a turbulent period. As a Dissenter himself, he naturally befriended the Dissenters, and afforded them the shelter of his influence and authority. In parliament, he advocated, by his eloquence, those rights, which, by his bravery, he defended in the field, and for which he sacrificed his life. He also employed his pen to promote the same cause. If I may judge from his discourse on the nature of Episcopacy, he possessed a considerable measure of learning and acuteness, as well as a bold and energetic mind. He commences his attack on the Episcopal order, by a fearless avowal of his object, "I aim not at words, but things; not loving to fight with shadows. It is not the look, much less the name of a Bishop, that I fear, or quarrel with, it is his nature, his office, that displeaseth me." He concludes it by a prediction which was soon verified. "Yet but for a little while—for I am confident that within *few years*, if not *months*, if not *days*, the God of peace and truth will deliver his church of this heavy yoke, from which, with the Li-

tany, give me leave to conclude, 'Good Lord deliver us.'" This was published in 1641; in 1646 the Bishops fell.

Note XVI.

Mallet was that day committed to the tower—p. 19.

The conduct of Judge Mallet, on various occasions, appears to have rendered him very obnoxious to the Parliament. On the 24th of November, 1645, An ordinance was passed, for disabling Heath, Crawley, Forrester, Weston, and Mallet, from being Judges, as if they were dead.—Whitelocke, p. 188.

Note XVII.

Dr. Trigg—p. 20.

Of this benevolent physician, I can give no account. Sewell, in his History of the Quakers, mentions one Hannah Trigg, daughter of Timothy Trigg, one of that people, who was very cruelly used, and died in prison in 1664. Perhaps Kiffin's Doctor was this person, and one of that friendly people. This remarkable passage in the life of Kiffin is not unlike an occurrence in the life of the late Mr Scott, the Commentator, of which he gives the following account:—"I had frequent attacks of sickness; and after a long and dangerous illness, which had occasioned heavy additional expenses, my wife, who was seldom disposed to distrust Providence, lamented to me the increase of our debts, as

the medical charges amounted to above £10. It was my turn, on this occasion, to be the stronger in faith; and I answered confidently, 'Now observe, if the Lord do not, in some way, send us an additional supply to meet this expense, which it was not in our power to avoid.' I had, at the time, no idea of any source from which this additional supply was to be derived: but, in the afternoon of the same day, when I was visiting my people, Mr Higgins, jun. called at my house, and left a paper, which he said, when I had filled up the blanks, would entitle me to £10, from the sum of money left for the relief of poor clergymen."

"The remarks which I would make upon this incident," says Mr Scott, jun. "are the following: that whatever may be thought of it, the fact no doubt happened as here related:—that my father was not disposed to expect *extraordinary* interpositions of Providence, or to make a display of them when they appeared to take place: that it is by no means uncommon for good men, of the most sober minds, circumstanced as he was, to meet with such occurrences; which form one among many means, of rendering their scanty supplies a source of greater enjoyment, than the more ample provision of their richer brethren frequently proves: and, finally, that I believe *every* careful observer will find remarkable *coincidences* in the course of events, which he will feel it right to note, as subjects of grateful

remembrance to himself, whether he deem it proper to communicate them to others or not. 'Whoso is wise will ponder these things: and they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord.'"—SCOTT'S LIFE, p. 114—115.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

NOTE XVIII.

Public places and public lands—p. 23.

THE prudence and policy of Kiffin appear in his endeavouring to avoid all connection with political posts, during the changing period in which he lived. He was, however, variously employed, both by the Parliament and the Protector, as the following notices will shew:—

On the 17th of January, 1648, an order of Parliament was issued "for Mr Kiffin and Mr Knollys, upon the petition of the Ipswich men, to go thither to preach."—(Whitelocke, p. 363.) During the Protectorate, he was employed to write to his own party in Ireland, and to recommend them to live peaceably, and submit to the civil magistrates. His services on that occasion, were acknowledged by Henry Cromwell.—(Thurloe.) These employments,

however, were not of a civil nature; but Kiffin was engaged in the most opposite kinds of service.

He was trusted by Parliament, in 1647, to be an assessor of the taxes, to be raised in the county of Middlesex.—(Noble, vol. ii p. 454.) In 1654, he was a Captain in the Militia; and in 1659, he was a Lieut.-Colonel. On one occasion too, the Parliament voted him fifty pounds for the service (evidently of a military nature) in which he had been engaged.—WHITELOCKE, p. 440.

I insert these additional particulars, which have been gleaned from various quarters, not to contradict the text: for Kiffin was a person of undoubted veracity; but to shew that he was very much respected by the several parties which held the supreme government of the country. It was a very common thing during the civil convulsions, and the commonwealth, for persons to be both soldiers and preachers. These vocations are certainly not very congruous; their combination, at that time, was sometimes the effect of choice—at others, of necessity. None of the above statements infer that Kiffin's employments were of a lucrative nature.

NOTE XIX.

Passing by many other things—p. 26.

Kiffin's troubles during the Protectorate were probably few, as he then enjoyed the protection of

persons in power; but he was not altogether exempted from molestation. An attempt was made to prosecute him under the Act for punishing blasphemies and heresies. Of this affair, Crosby gives the following account:—"Another, who was prosecuted by the force of this ordinance, was the Rev. Mr William Kiffin, pastor of a Baptized congregation in the city of London. He was convened before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall, on Thursday the 12th of July, 1655, and there charged with the breach of this ordinance, for preaching, *that the baptism of infants is unlawful:* But the Lord Mayor being busy, the execution of the penalty in the act upon him was referred till the Monday following."

"The author of 'The spirit of persecution again broke loose,' makes the following observations on the Justices' partiality, with respect to their management of the prosecutions against Mr Bidle and Mr Kiffin.

"Mr Bidle, says he, must be sent for by a warrant, Mr Kiffin by summons of a messenger; Mr Bidle must be committed by one Justice without a mittimus, and by one Justice with a mittimus; but Mr Kiffin must not be proceeded against upon the same ordinance without two Justices; he must have three or four days space given him; the other must be sent to prison in such haste, that a mittimus could not be writ to be sent with him, but it must

be sent after him. And in the passages, says he, at Mr Kiffin's prosecution, you may note further, that my Lord Mayor asked the prosecutors, why they did not prosecute Mr Kiffin sooner, seeing they knew of this ordinance, and Mr Kiffin's practice long ago. To which they made answer, that they thought the ordinance had been made null and void, till the other day they perceived one was committed to prison upon it. What made you think, said my Lord, that it was void? There is no time set when it should expire. True, said the prosecutors, but there is the Instrument of government that saith, 'That whosoever professeth faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, and discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of the religion, &c. and all acts and ordinances to the contrary are to be esteemed null and void.' Would any man think that the Lord Mayor of London should be ignorant of the fundamentals in the government? Surely those that slight one part of the government, then chiefest, would make void all, if they could or durst."—CROSBY'S BAPTISTS, Vol. I. p. 215—216.

NOTE XX.

We thought it convenient to write a letter to the Lord Mayor—p. 27.

This letter was afterwards published, as will be

noticed in a subsequent page. The conduct of Monk about this time, was not only deceitful, but very arbitrary. He had reason to believe, that all his offences would soon be covered by royal favour; which made him regardless what treatment he pursued to the citizens of London. Horace Walpole says, in promoting the Restoration, "he only furnished a hand to the heart of the nation." A heart he certainly could not have furnished. The hypocrisy of Cromwell has been often execrated, while that of Monk has been praised or excused; because it was that of a royalist. The reader will find some excellent remarks on the dissimulation, ambition, and covetousness of Monk, in Brodie's History of the British Empire, vol. iv. pp. 467, 486—a work which contains much accurate information respecting the reign of Charles I. and the Commonwealth; and which combats very successfully the infidelity, and political mis-statements of Hume.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

NOTE XXI.

Mr Henry Jesse.—p. 32.

Mr Jesse was one of the first and most respectable of the Baptist Ministers in England. He was originally pastor of the Independent Church, of

which Kiffin was a member; and changed his sentiments sometime after Kiffin left it. He remained minister of St. George's Church, long after he was a baptist. He was a man of very considerable learning and eminent piety. He raised three hundred pounds to assist the poor Jews at Jerusalem, then in great distress; and used all his influence to procure liberty for the Jews to reside and trade in England. He died in 1671. CROSBY's Hist. of Bapt. Vol. I. 307—322. Of Mr Crape, mentioned along with Mr Jesse, I know nothing. I apprehend he was not a minister.

NOTE XXII.

Lord Arlington—p. 36.

He was sometime Secretary of State, and Lord Chamberlain to Charles II. He was one of the celebrated junta, known by the name of the *Cabal*, from which many of the infamous proceedings of that wretched reign originated. They persuaded Charles, that he and the people had not a common interest, and advised him to shut up his Exchequer, which ruined many. Arlington was a man of wit, but without principle; which rendered him the fitter for the posts which he enjoyed in a profligate court. The Duke of York, afterwards James II. when reading Nuremberg, "On the difference of things temporal and eternal," said to Bishop Burnet, that if Arlington would read that book, he would not meddle in so many affairs as he did." I am not sure that

reading a book on such a subject would produce that effect; but certainly the enlightened belief of the difference between the glories of time and those of eternity, would greatly diminish the spirit of ambition, and the love of political intrigue.

NOTE XXIII.

It occasioned His Majesty and the Council to have a good opinion of me—p. 36.

Of Kiffin's influence at Court, various instances are recorded. The following narrated by Crosby shews also the dreadful state of the times, when twelve persons were in danger of being put to death, for quietly assembling to worship God. Their preservation is ascribed to Mr Kiffin's representation to the Court.

"There were twelve persons, ten men and two women, all Baptists, who had been taken at their meeting, in or near Ailsbury; and having been legally convicted of the same, three months before, were now brought before the bench of justices, at their Quarter-sessions; and there required, either to conform themselves to the Church of England, and take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or to abjure the realm, as this law directed; and were assured, that if they refused to do either of these, sentence of death should be passed against them. However, that there might be some shew of clemency, they gave them till the afternoon to consider of it.

Mr Farrow, one of the justices of that county, who lived at Ailsbury, was the principal agent in this prosecution: and the better to carry on his malicious design, he was this day made their chairman. Several of the justices left the bench, either being ashamed of these rigorous proceedings, or afraid of the consequences of such severity. But Farrow and three or four more continued, and were resolved to push on this matter.

"When the prisoners were again brought forth, they all declared, that they could neither conform to the Church of England, nor abjure their native country and relations, and therefore must throw themselves on the mercy of the Court. Upon this, they were by virtue of the afore-cited law, declared guilty of felony, and sentence of death accordingly passed on them, and they were remitted back to goal, till their execution. The men were, Stephen Dagnal, minister; —— Ellit, a teacher; William Whitchurch, a glover and deacon of their congregation; Thomas Hill, a linen-draper; William Welch, a tallow-chandler; Thomas Monk, a farmer; —— Brandon, a shoemaker; and three more, whose names I cannot obtain. The women were, Mary Jackman, a widow who had six children; Ann Turner, spinster.

"The sentence was no sooner passed against them, but the officers were sent to their several houses, to

seize on their goods, and whatever effects of theirs could be found: which order was executed immediately, and great havock made of what little possessions they had. The rest of the Dissenters who lived in that town, were not a little alarmed at this proceeding, and expected it would quickly come to their turns, to be treated after the same manner. These therefore shut up their shops also; who being the greatest part of the inhabitants, it put a great stop to commerce, and struck the whole town with great horror and surprise. Brandon, one of the condemned persons, was prevailed upon, by the tears and earnest entreaties of his wife, to make a recantation, and take the oaths; but he presently found such horror and distress in his mind, for what he had done, as exceeded all his former fears of death, or grief for his family. He voluntarily returned to the prison again, declared, with the greatest signs of grief and trouble, his repentance of what he had done, and there continued with his companions, resolving to die with them, in defence of that cause he had so shamefully renounced.

"Thomas Monk, son to him of that name, among the condemned, upon the passing of the sentence, immediately took horse for London, where he applied himself to Mr William Kiffin, a man of great note among the Baptists, and one that had as great an interest at court as any of that profession, and particularly with Chancellor Hide. When he had

revealed the whole matter to him, they go with great expedition to Hide, and intreat him to lay their case before his Majesty, which he readily did. The king seemed very much surprised, that any of his subjects should be put to death for their religion only, and enquired whether there was any law in force that justified such proceedings. When he was satisfied about this, he promised his pardon, and gave orders to the Lord Chancellor accordingly. But when they considered, that the form of passing a pardon would require some time, and that those who had so hastily passed a sentence of death might be as rash also in the execution of it; they renewed their suit to his Majesty, that an immediate reprieve might be granted, which his Majesty as graciously complied with; and it was immediately given to the said Thomas Monk, who thereupon made all possible haste down again to Ailsbury.

"When he reported the success he had met with at Court, and produced his Majesty's reprieve, it was not more joyful to his friends, than surprising to his persecutors; and this put some stop to the violence of their proceedings in those parts.

"However, the condemned persons were continued close prisoners till the next assizes, and then the judge brought down his Majesty's pardon with him, and they were all set at liberty again."

CROSBY'S BAPT. Vol. II. p. 181—185.

Note XXIV.

The Earl of Clarendon was very much my friend—p. 36.

Clarendon has been dignified with the title of "The Chancellor of human nature." How far he deserved this designation will not be generally agreed. He was undoubtedly a man of talents, and in many respects, a man of integrity. He loved his country, and he loved his Sovereign; whose exile he shared, and whose ingratitude he experienced. He had no great liking to popery; but a still greater dislike to the Dissenters. A more accurate knowledge of human nature, would have moderated many of his measures, and convinced him of the folly of hoping to please the profligate Charles, to satisfy the country, and to maintain the approbation of his conscience. His name is identified with the "History of the Rebellion;" a work which has done more than any other to perpetuate the hatred of Presbyterians, and to fix disgrace on the glorious and finally successful struggle for British liberty.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

Note XXV.

The Duke of Buckingham—p. 37.

The character of this gay, witty, and profligate nobleman, has been so admirably depicted in the late Novel, that it would be presumptuous in me to say much respecting it. I cannot, however, resist quoting Granger's accurate portrait—"He was a man of the most whimsical caprice, was the admiration and the jest of the reign of Charles the Second. He was the alchymist, and the philosopher; the fiddler and the poet; the mimic and the statesman. How shall I sketch the portrait of one who had such a variety of faces, or draw him in miniature, who was of so *great*, and at the same time, of so *little* a character." Horace Walpole's account of him seems to have been studied by the Novelist: it is even more severe than that of Granger.—"When this extraordinary man, with the figure and genius of Alcibiades, could equally charm the presbyterian Fairfax, and the dissolute Charles; when he alike ridiculed that witty King, and his solemn Chancellor; when he plotted the ruin of his country with a *cabal* of bad ministers; or equally unprincipled, supported its cause with bad patriots: one laments that such parts should have been devoid of every virtue. But when Alcibiades turns chemist, when he is a real bubble, and a visionary

miser; when ambition is but a frolic; when the worst designs are for the foolishest ends; contempt extinguishes all reflections on his character."—Walpole's Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 77.

The situation into which Kiffin was brought, looks extremely like some manœuvre of the Duke. Here an individual is charged with the highest crime against the state;—threatened and cajoled to confess it;—and then, after some farther intriguing, is allowed to return home, and hears nothing more of the affair. This is very like prosecuting some bad design for some foolish end. Pope's admirable lines on the wretched death of this wretched sinner, may properly conclude this note.

"In the worst Inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
The floors of plaister, and the walls of dung.
On once a flockbed, but repair'd with straw,
With tape-ty'd curtains never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dangling from that bed
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
Great *Villers* lies. Alas! how chang'd from him,
That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!
Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove,
The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury and Love;
Or just as gay, at Council, in a ring
Of mimic statesmen, and their merry King.
No wit to flatter, left of all his store;
No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame, this Lord of useless thousand ends."

Pope's Epistle to Lord Bathurst.

Note XXVI.

Mr Clifford, a gentleman belonging to the Duke—page 37.

The person who is thus humbly described as a retainer of Buckingham's, became afterwards the well known Lord Clifford, the first member of the *cabal* ministry. He was originally the son of a country gentleman of Devonshire, and commanded a regiment in the Army of Charles I. in his first expedition against the Scots. Afterwards he was accounted by contemporaries, says Wood, "a young man of very unsettled head, or of a roving, shattered brain." Being chosen a Member of Parliament after the Restoration, he signalised himself by defending all the King's measures; for which he was Knighted, and after filling various posts with more advantage to himself than to the country, he was raised to the peerage. He was a concealed Catholic, and a man of an intriguing impetuous spirit.

Note XXVII.

Lady Ranelagh—p. 39.

Of this noble friend of Kiffin, I can obtain no account, further than she appears to have been a Dissenter, and a Member of Daniel Burgess' Church in London. Among his works is a "Funeral Sermon for the Countess of Ranelagh."

Note XXVIII.

I intend particularly to set them down by themselves—page 45.

Mr Kiffin left a MS. of this description, but which I understand has been lost. He was, however, known as an author, as well as a merchant, a preacher, and a soldier. Of his works, which are all small, and now scarcely to be met with, the reader will accept of the following imperfect notices :—

1. *A Letter to Mr Edwards, about publicly objecting to his Sermons : by W. Kiffin*,—12mo. 1644. This is a defence of himself against the detraction, published by Edwards, in his Gangrena, of which an account is given in the Notes to Chapter II.

2. *A Remonstrance of the Grounds of the Anabaptists' Separation*,—4to. 1645. To this pamphlet a very curious and violent answer was returned, under the following title :—" A Looking-glass for the Anabaptists, and the rest of the Separatists : wherein they may clearly behold a brief confutation of a certain unlicensed scandalous pamphlet, entitled, The Remonstrance of the Anabaptists, by way of Vindication of their Separation. The Impertinencies, Incongruities, Non-consequences, Falsities, and Obstinacy of *William Kiffin*, the Author and Grand Ringleader of that seduced sect, are discovered and laid open to the view of every indifferent-eyed reader, that will not shut his eyes

against the truth. With certain queries vindicated from Anabaptistical glosses, together with others propounded for the information and conviction, (if possible) Reformation of the said William Kiffin, and his Proselytes. By *Josiah Ricraft*, a Well Willer to the Truth,"—4to. 1645. This curious pamphlet contains a number of queries, with answers by Kiffin, and Ricraft's replies. The author was a Merchant in London—a Presbyterian—and evidently full of violence and conceit.

3. " A Declaration concerning the public dispute which should have been in the public Meeting-House of Aldermanbury, the 3d. of this instant month of December; concerning Infants' Baptism. Together with some of the arguments which should have been propounded and urged by some of those that are falsely called Anabaptists, which should then have disputed,—viz. by Ben. Coxe, Hansard Knollys, William Kiffin, 4to. 1645." Of this pamphlet, Kiffin was only one of the authors. The dispute, it appears, never took place. Crosby gives an account of another of these public contests in which Kiffin was engaged, and of which the Baptists seem to have been very fond at this period. It happened at Coventry, while he was there preaching by order from the Parliament.—Dr Grew, and Dr Bryan, were on the side of the Pœdobaptists, and Mr Kiffin, and Mr Knollys, on the other. Crosby says, candidly,—" It was managed with good temper and

great moderation; both sides claimed the victory, and parted good friends." He adds, very naturally, "all granted that the *Baptists* came off with great reputation."—Vol. iii. p. 5.

4. *A Discourse between Captain Kiffin, and Dr Chamberlain, about imposition of hands*—4to. 1654. Dr Chamberlain and Kiffin appear to have had a public dispute on this subject also; of which this pamphlet contains an account. The title shews the rank Kiffin then held in the City Militia. The following article shews that he was advanced still higher.

5. "A Letter to the Lord Mayor, by Lieut.-Col. Kiffin, Captain Gosfright, Captain Hewling, and Lieut. Somes, touching the seizing of their persons"—fol. 1659. This letter relates to his seizure by Monk, of which he gives some account in page 26. Captain Hewling was I suppose his son-in-law, and father to the two unfortunate young men of whom the grand-father speaks so fully.

Kiffin was abused, about this time, in a small pamphlet, under the following title—"The life and approaching death of William Kiffin, extracted out of the Visitation Book, by a Church Member."—4to. p. 5. 1659. He is there represented as having been "a bounden servant of a Glover," which was probably after his connection with Lilburn the

Brewer. He is also called "a Lieut.-Col. in the Militia."

6. *A sober Discourse of Right to Church Communion*—12mo. This work was written in reply to the celebrated John Bunyan. Its object is to shew the unlawfulness of admitting any to the Lord's Supper, but baptised adults. Kiffin was what is called a *strict*, and Bunyan a *free*, Communion Baptist.

Besides these Productions, he assisted as has been already noticed, in forming the Confessions of Faith, drawn up and published by the Baptists. To the edition of 1650, is added, "Heart bleedings for Professors' Abominations; or a Faithful General Epistle, presented to all who have known the way of truth; forewarning them to flee security and careless walking," &c.—4to. To this letter, the name of Kiffin, and a number of others are subscribed.

He wrote a Preface to the Life of Mr Hansard Knollys, in which he continues the writer's account of himself, down to his death. He also wrote a Preface to "The sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching without Human Learning, by Samuel How, Cobler, Pastor of a Christian Church in London." How's Sermon is far from being contemptible. The text, 2d. Peter, iii. 16, was furnished him by John Goodwin, who also condescended to be a hearer.

When done, Mr Goodwin was asked by How's friends what he thought? He replied—"Ye have made a calf and danced about it." They demanded wherein they had made a calf? To which no reply was given. The cobler could not get his Sermon printed in London; it was therefore sent to Holland. But the demand became so great, that the eighth edition now lies before me. As Kiffin's Preface is not long, I quote it for the reader's satisfaction.

"Having been acquainted with this author before his death, and tasted that Spirit of Light which God had more than ordinary poured out on him; by which he was enabled to minister seasonable words, to the refreshing of many weary souls: and also to contend against those corruptions and inventions which men have brought into the worship of God, raging like the mighty waters, against all the servants of God which opposed them in the same. I mean the power which ruled in that day, of the weight of whose persecutions, this author, while he lived, had his share; and when he died, they would not allow him what they called a Christian burial; therefore his friends were obliged to lay his body in the high way, of whom, I may say, the world was not worthy. My intent in writing this, is not to commend the author, but to set in your view the design of the following Discourse; the bent whereof is to advance the teachings of the Spirit of

Christ, in the unfolding of the mystery of the gospel to the hearts of men, as the only revealer of that glory of truth to the soul, which will change from glory to glory into its own likeness; a truth much opposed by men of corrupt minds in this day: and therefore it becomes all that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, to stand upon their watch, and be earnestly begging of the Father of Lights, that the Spirit may help them to judge of things that differ, and may lead them into straight paths, "trying all things, and holding fast that which is good." Thou wilt find in this Tract the spirit of the author strongly and zealously contending for the advancement of the Spirit of Christ; and if therein thou meetest with any words that may seem harsh against that which men advance, let it not be an offence to thee, but try whether it be agreeable to the form of sound words or not. I shall not detain thee any longer, but my desire to the Lord is, that all Israel may more and more know the truth as it is in Jesus; shining as the sun, more to their perfect clearness; knowing the night is far past, and the day near approaching: so that we may walk as the children of the light, waiting for the glorious appearing of him that will come, and not tarry.

Yours, in the love of Christ,

W. KYFFEN.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

Note XXIX.

Sir Thomas Armstrong—p. 52.

Sir Thomas Armstrong met with a hard fate. He was seised at Leyden, and brought over in great haste to England; where he was sentenced to die by Jefferies, on a former sentence of out-lawry, which was executed within six days. Burnet says, "His carriage, during his imprisonment, and at his death, was far beyond what could have been imagined. He turned himself wholly to the thoughts of God, and of another state; and was praying continually. He rejoiced, that he was brought to die in such a manner. He said, it was scarce possible for him to have been awakened into a due sense of his sins by any other method. His pride, and his resentments were then so entirely conquered, that one who saw him said to me, that it was not easy to think, it was the same person whom he had formerly known. He received the sacrament, and died in so good a temper, with so much quiet in his mind, and so serene a deportment, that we have scarce known in our time, a more eminent instance of the grace and mercy of God."—Burnet's Own Times, Vol. II. p. 418; 12mo. edit.

Note XXX.

It proved the ruin of my Son-in-law—p. 53.

Burnet's account of Hayes' trial is interesting, and corroborates the statement of Kiffin.

"The other trial was of more importance to the Court. In Armstrong's pocket, when he was taken, a letter was found writ by Hayes, a banker in London, directed to another name, which was believed a feigned one. In it credit was given him upon Hayes' correspondent in Holland for money: he was desired not to be too lavish: and he was promised, that he should be supplied as he needed it. Here was an abetting of a man out-lawed for treason. Much pains was taken on Hayes, both by persuasion and threatening, to induce him to discover that whole cabal of men, that, it seemed, joined in a common purse to supply those who had fled beyond sea on the account of the plot. And they hoped to know all Monmouth's friends, and either to have attainted them, or at least to have fined them severely for it. But Hayes shewed a fidelity and courage far beyond what could have been expected from such a man: so he was brought to a trial. He made a strong defence. The letter was not exactly like his hand. It was not addressed to Armstrong, but to another person from whom he perhaps had it. No entry was made of it in his books; nor of any sum paid in upon it. But his main defence was, that a banker examined into no person's concerns;

and therefore when money or good security was brought him, he gave bills of exchange, or letters of credit, as they were desired. Jefferies pressed the jury, in his impetuous way, to find Hayes guilty of high treason; because, though there was not a witness against Hayes, but only presumptions appeared upon the proof, yet Jefferies said, it was proved by two witnesses, that the letter was found in Armstrong's pocket; and that was sufficient, the rest appearing by circumstances. The little difference between the writing in the letter and his ordinary hand, was said to be only a feint to hide it, which made him the more guilty: he required the jury to bring him in guilty: and said, that the king's life and safety depended upon this trial: so that if they did it not, they exposed the king to a new Rye-plot; with other extravagancies, with which his fury prompted him. But a jury of merchants could not be wrought up to this pitch. So he was acquitted, which mortified the Court a little; for they had reckoned, that now juries were to be only a point of form in a trial, and that they were always to find bills as they were directed."—Vol. II. p. 446.

Note XXXI.

I endeavoured to treat with a Great Man—p. 54.

Who the person was to whom Kiffin offered three thousand pounds for the lives of his Grandsons, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty. Many were bought off by large sums, which ruined them-

selves or families, which were given to the Officers of State, or of the army; and especially to Jefferies. The account of his "Campaign in the West," as his bloody and infamous proceedings, were denominated, is among the most sickening details of British history. The following short view of it, extracted from Hume, conveys only a moderate idea of the cruelty of this inhuman judge.

"The violent Jefferies, succeeded after some interval; and shewed the people, that the rigors of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he presided; and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. He began at Dorchester; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them: and when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution.

"Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence at Dorchester. Of these, eighty were executed. Exeter was the next stage of his cruelty: two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number

were condemned and executed. He also opened his commission at Taunton and Wells; and everywhere carried consternation along with him. The juries were so struck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent persons, it is said, were involved with the guilty. And, on the whole, besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almost beheld the dead carcase of a wretched inhabitant. And all the rigors of justice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully displayed to the people, by the inhuman Jefferies. He, on his return, was immediately, for those eminent services, created a peer; and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor. It is pretended, however, with some appearance of authority, that the king was displeased with these cruelties, and put a stop to them by order, as soon as proper information of them was conveyed to him."—Vol. VIII. p. 168.

There is reason to doubt the accuracy of the opinion, expressed in the last sentence. The bloody disposition of Jefferies seems to have been encouraged rather than opposed by his iron-hearted master. When Jefferies was afterwards prisoner in the tower, he complained to Dr. Scott, of his hard treatment. "I was hated," said he, "by the king-

dom, for doing so much in the west, and I was ill received by the king, for not doing more." James' conduct to his unhappy brother Monmouth, clearly shews, that he possessed neither natural affection nor royal clemency. "In ordering him to be brought into his presence, under sentence of death, he made one exception," says Dr Welwood, "to a general rule observed invariably by Kings, never to allow a criminal under sentence of death, the sight of his Prince's face without a design to pardon him." To witness, with satisfaction the grief, and insult the misfortunes of a brother, betray a heart capable of exulting in the military butcheries of Kirk, and the legal murders of Jefferies.

NOTE XXXII.

The Duke of Monmouth came over—p. 53.

Monmouth's Rebellion, as it is commonly termed, was one of the most ill-timed and most disastrous efforts for the restoration of British liberty.

"With three small ships, and about an hundred and fifty men, the Duke landed in the west of England, the parliament sitting. A romantic kind of invasion, and scarce paralleled in history: yet with this handful of men, and the common people that joined him, without arms, provisions, martial discipline, money, or any one place of strength to retire to, in case of accidents, did this brave unfortunate man bid fair for a crown: and if his ill fate had not

placed a battalion of Dumbarton's regiment in his way, he had in all probability surprised the king's army in their camp, and perhaps at that single blow decided the Fortune of England for once. Yet this attempt may be said to have paved the way for a nobler change in the throne, by leaving king James at liberty, through this success, to act without controul what at length tumbled him down.

"Monmouth paid the price of his rebellion with his blood. A little pocket-book was taken with him, and delivered to King James. It contained infallible proofs, in his own hand, of his intentions upon the crown. A great many dark passages there are in it, and some clear enough. Perhaps it had been for James' honour to have committed it to the flames, as Julius Cæsar is said to have done on a like occasion.

"Monmouth seemed to be born for a better fate; for the first part of his life was all sunshine, though the rest was clouded. He was brave, generous, affable, and extremely handsome: constant in his friendships, just to his word, and an utter enemy to all sort of cruelty. He was easy in his nature, and fond of popular applause, which led him insensibly into all his misfortunes: but whatever might be the hidden designs of some working heads he embark'd with, his own were noble, and chiefly aimed at the good of his country, though he was mistaken in the means to attain it. Ambitious he was, but not to

the degree of aspiring to the crown, till after his landing in the West; and even then he was rather passive than active in assuming the title of king. It was importunity alone that prevailed with him to make that step; and he was inflexible, till it was told him, that the only way to provide against the ruin of those that should come in to his assistance, in case he failed in the attempt, was to declare himself king; that they might be sheltered by the statute made in the reign of Henry VII. in favour of those that should obey a king *de facto*. Those that advised him, had different ends in it: some, to render the breach betwixt King James and him irreconcilable, and thereby pave a way for a Commonwealth, in playing them against one another. Others, to prevent a possibility of his being reconciled to King James, by the merit of delivering up those that should join him; which was a thought unworthy of that nice sincerity he had shewn in all the former conduct of his life.

"In his latter years he used to complain of the little care that had been taken of his education; and in his disgrace endeavoured to make up that want, by applying himself to study, in which he made, in a short time, no inconsiderable progress. He took the occasion of his afflictions to inform his mind, and recollect and amend the errors of youth; which it was not strange he should be tainted with, being bred up in all the pleasures of a luxurious court.

"The Duke, when he was brought prisoner to King James's presence, made the humblest submissions for his life; and it is a mystery, what could move King James to see him when he had no mind to pardon him: but the manner of his death, three days after, did more than acquit him of any meanness of spirit in desiring to live, since he died with the greatest constancy and tranquillity of mind, and such as became a christian, a philosopher, and a soldier."—WELWOOD'S MEMOIRS, p. 170—175.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

NOTE XXXIII.

The Hewlings—p. 55.

Every thing relating to these very interesting young men must gratify the reader. Noble gives the following particulars relating to them:—

"These two amiable, but unfortunate gentlemen, of the name of Hewling, were the only sons of Mr Benjamin Hewling, a Turkey Merchant, of good fortune, in London, who, happily for himself, died

before them. They were, after their father's death, most carefully brought up by a tender mother, and their maternal grandfather, Mr William Kiffin, who, though very much advanced in years, as well as his wife, survived them both. The Hewlings and Kiffins were Protestant Dissenters, and the latter (if not the former) were Anabaptists.

"Mr Benjamin Hewling, the eldest brother, made great progress in learning, was well skilled in the mathematics, and other parts of philosophy, and was some time in Holland to perfect himself in these and other studies. When the Duke of Monmouth came into England, and laid claim to a crown which he had not a shadow of a right to, Mr Hewling, whose zeal for the Protestant interest led him to depose King James, as a Papist, upon any terms whatever, joined his standard; the Duke gave him a troop of horse, with which he signalised himself in several skirmishes; and as ill chance would have it, he was despatched with a detachment of his own troop and two more, to Mynhead, in Somersetshire, to fetch cannon to the army. He returned at the very time that the Duke of Monmouth was routed at Sedgmore, which he in vain endeavoured to prevent; the loss of the battle is thought to be greatly owing to his absence with so considerable a part of the horse, and the most resolute of the army.

" Mr William Hewling, was educated with an equal care to his brother, and was also sent into Holland for improvement; he returned from thence with the Duke of Monmouth, and also enlisted under his banner, and bore the rank of Lieutenant of Foot at the battle of Sedgmore, where he, as well as his brother, behaved with distinguished gallantry.

" Of all the unhappy victims that died in the West, none were more pitied than these two brothers; their youth, their beauty, their being the only sons of their mother, and she a widow; their extraordinary piety, resignation, even excessive joy at their approaching fate, made all men look up with horror at a throne, which, instead of being of mercy, was that not only of severe justice, but excess of cruelty; for they were flattered with life, though not even one (which was earnestly desired) was saved: they were treated with the greatest inhumanity, and even shameful barbarity.

" The people, as if to reflect upon their sovereign's flintiness of heart, strove who should most express their pity and regard for them whilst living, and when dead. The body of the youngest was deposited in Lyme church-yard, attended by two hundred persons, and accompanied by some of the most fashionable young women in the town, though it was the day following his untimely death, and no invitation or preparation made: and most of the in-

habitants of Taunton, also waited upon the remains of William, to the church in that place, where his remains were deposited; which was wonderful, when we recollect the horrid butchery that must every where present itself to them under the unfeeling tyrant; and that several of the dreadful objects died only for affording comfort to those who had been in arms.

"The dignity and acquiescence in God's Providence under their misfortunes, and the cruelty of their deaths, made a great impression upon all sober men, and the outrages committed in the West, more than any thing, contributed to overturn the throne of a tyrant, which he had discoloured with the blood of so many of his subjects, to gratify an insatiable cruelty."—Vol. II. p. 443—448.

Their characters are thus drawn in the New Martyrology,—"They were both of very sweet and obliging tempers, as has appeared in their history; it being a very hard matter for their worst enemies, when they once knew them well, not to honour and love them. Mr Benjamin, the elder, reconciled the *lamb* and the *lion* exactly. In the field, he seemed made only for war; and any where else, for nothing but love. He, without flattery, deserved to be called a very *fine man*, of a lovely proportion, extremely well made, so handsome a mien, and good an air, as perhaps few in England exceeded him.

"The younger, Mr William, was somewhat taller, and more slender, his face fresh and lively, as his spirit, being master of an extraordinary *vivacity* and *briskness* of temper. Both of them were virtuous, pious, and courageous, far above their years; and indeed, seemed to be *men* too soon, one of them not being twenty, the eldest but two-and-twenty, when they died; verifying that common observation, *that whatever is* PERFECT *sooner than ordinary, has generally a shorter period prefixed to it than what is more base and ignoble.*"—p. 117.

The two following original letters to their sister, written while they were in Holland, will shew their very affectionate disposition; and that Mr William Hewling's mind had been decidedly turned to religion before his melancholy imprisonment and condemnation.

DEAR SISTER,

I have waited, with impatience, for this opportunity of conveying you my thanks for your kind letter, and for the variety of news it was freighted with: your joy for my safe arrival, and sorrow for my absence, testify no more than what I always conceived of my sister's love, having before received so strong proofs of her affection to me. There needs no other arguments to convince me that they are real, and still continue the same, than your saying they are so; and I am assured you

entertain as kind thoughts of my love to you, and the sincerity of it, and without any difficulty will think me as I am in reality,

Your affectionate brother,

BEN. HEWLING.

AMSTERDAM, 3d April, 1683.

TUTPHAES, 18th March, 1685.

DEAR SISTER,

I have received yours of the 10th instant, filled with fresh tokens of the constant affection of my dear sister, and her ardent zeal for the well-being of her poor unworthy brother. For, dear, dear sister, I shall never be in a capacity to render suitable acknowledgments to these several obligations laid on me. I find, by your kind letter, your joy for those few convictions that God in his infinite mercy hath been pleased to work on my soul; for, dear sister, I cannot but esteem it an infinite mercy, and a miracle of love, that God should put the least stop to my career in sin, when I have gone on without bounds, and have sinned so dissolutely against such light, and against such calls and former convictions that I have had. Others, abundantly better than I, have been cut off, and sent to their place, whilst I am yet spared. This is a mercy never to be esteemed of enough. I bless God I have found, since these convictions, that He

hath been pleased to give me more backwardness to sin, and a little more love to holiness; but on the other side, I find myself very hard, and dead, and proud, and too apt to relish the things of this world; and I find the devil very busy to turn me out of the way, putting all manner of evil thoughts into my heart, which is too apt and ready to take with the least temptation. Dear sister, I do desire you, and also all my friends, to pray to God, that he would, in his infinite mercy, subdue my hard and proud heart; that he would regulate my affections, and enlighten my blind understanding; that he would, by his Holy Spirit, convince me, first of sin, that I may see it as it is, really vile and destructive, and the greatest enemy to mankind; that I may see it so as to loath, and detest, and hate it; that I may see it so as to repent of it, and that with repentance never to be repented of; and then that he would convince me of righteousness, of the fulness of the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, of the fulness of his satisfaction for sin, that I may be so convinced of it as to go out of myself to it—that I may esteem all things as dross and dung compared with it—that I may take up the yoke of the Lord Jesus, and be a true and faithful servant to him—that I may follow him fully, never looking back, but be continually pressing forward to the mark of the high calling, knowing that my labour shall not be in vain. Dear sister, finding my heart so dull, so hard, and so little inclinable to these things, I cannot but re-

new my entreaty, that my friends would pray to God for me, if He, who is the great changer of hearts, who hath the words of eternal life, would work this great and glorious change in me,—that where he hath begun a good work he would perfect it,—that I may live as a monument of his infinite mercy, and that I may ever bless and praise his holy name, which I hope will ever be the practice of, Dear Sister,

Your most affectionate brother,

WM. HEWLING.

Pray my duty to mother, with love to brother, and sisters, duty to grandfather, service to uncles and aunts, and the rest of friends.

NOTE XXXIV.

Captain Richardson—p. 57.

This Gaoler-in-Chief was worthy of the Judge whose barbarous sentences he in part executed. When he brought down the Hewlings and some other gentlemen to Dorchester to be tried, drinking with another gaoler, he said, "Come brother, here's to our good health; this is our time to make our fortunes—now we must lay aside all humanity, for no compassion is to be shewn to these dogs."—WESTERN MARTYROLOGY, p. 224.

NOTE XXXV.

A near relation that went into the West—p. 58.

The near relation who was with these interesting young men, was their sister, Hannah Hewling. She did every thing that was possible to save their lives, as well as to comfort them when they were appointed to die. She presented a petition to the King in behalf of her brothers, and was introduced for this purpose by Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough. While they waited in the antichamber for admittance, standing near the mantle-piece, Lord Churchill assured her of his most hearty wishes of success to her petition:— "but, Madam," said he, "I dare not flatter you with any such hopes, for that marble is as capable of feeling compassion as the King's heart." This is very characteristic of the utter insensibility of James II.

To Jefferies also she applied, but could not prevail, probably for the reason assigned by her grandfather in his Memoirs. It has been said in most of the accounts which have been published, that Jefferies always treated Hannah Hewling, according to his usual custom, with the greatest brutality. But this is not correct, for he always treated her with the greatest politeness and respect. This, however, does not much soften the horror of his general character. Jefferies had a relation, from whose fortune he had formed great expectations; and as this rela-

tion was an intimate acquaintance of the Hewlings, he exerted himself very warmly with him in their behalf. He repeatedly protested to the Chief Justice, that the continuance of his friendship, together with every benefit he might hope would result from it, depended entirely upon his using every endeavour to save the Hewlings. This, Jefferies protested he did; with what sincerity, God only knows: but he always declared the King was inexorable.—NOBLE'S MEMOIRS, Vol. II. p. 451—3

Miss Hewling, some time after the melancholy death of her brothers, became the wife of Major Richard Cromwell, the grandson of the Protector Oliver, by Henry, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Noble's account of her is curious, but evidently written under the influence of strong prejudice against a Dissenter.—"The misfortunes her family" he says, "experienced from the severity of James II. and the fanaticism of her religious tenets, set her mind against the established form, and led her into some unwarrantable warmths. She, instead of copying the example of her husband's mother, set herself openly against the establishment, turned out the clergyman that had been long resident in the family; and entertained, in his stead, a Baptist Minister. Not content with this, she endeavoured to gain proselytes to her opinions; all which led Mr Cromwell into such pecuniary inconveniences, as obliged him, soon after their mar-

riage, to part with the Abbey of Spinney. It does not appear, however, that she brought over her husband to desert the established church."—NOBLE'S MEMOIRS, Vol. I. p. 210.

All this has been said of many as well as of Mrs Cromwell, and, in most instances, with very little truth. It does not appear clearly how the lady's conduct could ruin her husband's estate. She was a kind sister; she appears to have been a sensible woman; and from an original letter of her's, now before me, she seems to have been a good mother, and an obedient wife. As it shews a little of the religious character of the writer, and also informs us of the very humble employment of the Lord Protector of England's grandson, I shall quote part of it for the reader's amusement. It is addressed to her sisters; and appears to have been written when she was recovering from an attack of ague. Her child also had been ill, and was under the care of his aunts.

LONDON, March 19, 1689.

MY DEAR SISTERS,

The good news you sent me in your last was very reviving to me. It was beyond my expectation to hear of the so sudden removal of his distemper. My great work now is thankfulness; which is indeed too great for an evil heart, without the assistance of the Holy Spirit.

Let us pray for it, for each other. I should be the more thankful, from my present feelings, for what he did. I find myself very weak; and can but admire how God has continued his (the child's) strength so much through it. I have had five fits, which held me much about the length his did. I greatly long to see my dear lamb; but cannot be willing to venture him yet such a journey: and I am sensible the loss of your kind and pleasant company will be very mournful to him.

I have little news to send. The Parliament are taking the attainder of my Lord Russell: so I hope they will soon proceed to the rest. There are many regiments preparing to go to the relief of poor Ireland, which is in great distress. I suppose you hear that my aunt Kiffin is very dangerously ill at Enfield. My brother Frank has an office in a regiment for Ireland, if he will be so wise as to keep it.

I have made my scroll very tedious, but must yet add, that it is Mr Cromwell's order, that Betty Gally go to market with the butter, and John no more, except at washings. He would have Harry go to Cambridge and enquire the price of hay, and send him word; and whether there are any who are willing to buy all he can spare, and pay ready money. He would also know in what forwardness all his business is. I am forced to trouble you with

these things, which I hope you will excuse, from your obliged and affectionate sister,

H. CROMWELL.

For Mrs Rebekah Hewling, at Henry Cromwell's, Esq. Spinney Abbey, near Newmarket.

Major Cromwell died of a fever in Spain, in 1711, when serving under Lord Galway. Mrs Cromwell died in 1731. They had a family of ten children, several of whom survived them. Oliver Cromwell, Esq. lately deceased, and who published the valuable Memoirs of the Protector, was descended from this branch of the family.

NOTE XXXVI.

Mr Benjamin Hewling, about two hours before his death, wrote the following letter to his mother— page 79.

The original letter which Kiffin has copied into his Memoirs, is in my possession. It affords a remarkable proof of the composure of Hewling's mind, as expressed in it. It is written in a bold and steady hand, betraying not the least symptom of agitation or tremulousness. Were it not for the information contained in it of his near approaching death, it might be supposed he had written it at his desk.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

NOTE XXXVII.

A new project was set on foot to engage the Protestant Dissenters—p. 84.

The object of this scheme was to favour the Roman Catholics, not the Dissenters. Its pretence, however, was to extend toleration, or liberty of conscience, to all. Many of the Dissenters saw this; and while they naturally availed themselves of the liberty offered, objected to the principle on which it was bestowed—the right of the king to dispense with the execution of the laws. They differed among themselves about the best mode of acknowledging the favour which was offered them. The following is part of Neal's account of this affair, which corroborates Kiffin's MS.

"In pursuance of these declarations, the dissenters of all sorts were not only set at liberty, but admitted to serve in offices of profit and trust. November 6, the king sent an order to the Lord Mayor of London, to dispense with the Quakers taking oaths, or at least, not to fine them if they refused to serve, by which means a door was opened to the Roman Catholics, and to all others, to bear offices in the state, without a legal qualification. Several

addresses were presented to the king upon this occasion, from the companies in the city of London, from the corporations in the country, and even from the clergy themselves, thanking his majesty for his declaration for liberty of conscience, and his promise to support the Church of England, as by law established, assuring him of their endeavours to choose such members for the next parliament as should give it a more legal sanction.

"The several denominations of Dissenters also were no less thankful for their liberty, and addressed his majesty in higher strains than some of their elder and more cautious ministers approved; Mr Baxter, Mr Stretton, and a great many others, refused to join in them; and bishop Burnet admits, that few concurred in those addresses, and that the persons who presented them were mean and inconsiderable. When there was a general meeting of the ministers to consider of their behaviour in this crisis, and two messengers from court waited to carry back the result of the debate, Mr. Howe delivered his opinion against the dispensing power, and against every thing that might contribute assistance to the Papists, to enable them to subvert the Protestant religion. Another minister stood up, and declared, that he apprehended their late sufferings had been occasioned more by their firm adherence to the constitution, than by their differing from the establishment, and therefore if the king expected they should give

up the constitution and declare for the dispensing power, he had rather, for his part, lose his liberty, and return to his former bondage. In conclusion, Mr Howe, in summing up the whole debate, signified to the courtiers, that they were in general of the same opinion. Mr Coke adds, that to his knowledge the Dissenters did both dread and detest the dispensing power; and their steadiness in this crisis was a noble stand by a number of men who subsisted only by the royal favour, which ought not to have been so soon forgotten.

"Though the Court were a little disappointed in their expectations from the Dissenters, they put the best face they could on the affair, and received such addresses as were presented with high commendation. The first who went up were the London Anabaptists, who say, that 'the sense of this invaluable favour and benefit derived to us from your royal clemency, compels us to prostrate ourselves at your majesty's feet, with the tender of our most humble thanks for that peace and liberty which both we, and all other Dissenters from the national church, now enjoy."—Vol. v. p. 33, 34.

It appears from Kiffin's account, that all the Baptists did not agree in these addresses. He not only opposed them himself, but did all he could to prevent his brethren appearing on the side of the court. Mr Ivimey tells us, that their address was

presented on Thursday, March 23, 1667, by Mr Coke, and four or five more of that society, through the Earl of Sunderland. The disinterested conduct of the Dissenters on this occasion, who made common cause with the church against the Catholics, when the liberties of their country were in danger of destruction, was forgotten after the Revolution. "The clergy," says Bishop Burnet, (speaking of the comprehension act) "began now to shew an implacable hatred to the non-conformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them. But wise and good men did very much applaud the quieting the nation by the toleration. It seemed to be suitable, both to the spirit of the christian religion; and to the interest of the nation. It was thought very unreasonable, that, while we were complaining of the cruelty of the Church of Rome, we should fall into such practices among ourselves; chiefly, while we were engaging in a war, in the progress of which we would need the united strength of the whole nation."

Neal's reflections on their conduct, though severe, were certainly not unjust, nor uncalled for. "This was the last fruitless attempt for a comprehension of Dissenters within the establishment; and such was the ungrateful return that these stubborn churchmen made to those who had assisted them in their distress! For it ought to stand upon record, that the Church of England had been twice

rescued from the most imminent danger, by men, for whose satisfaction they would not move a pin, nor abate a ceremony; first, in the year 1660, when the Presbyterians restored the King and Constitution, without making any terms for themselves; and now again at the Revolution, when the church fled for succour to a Presbyterian prince, and was delivered by an army of fourteen thousand Hollanders, of the same principles with the English Dissenters; and how uncivilly those troops were afterward used, is too ungrateful a piece of history to remember."

Vol. V. p. 84, 85.

NOTE XXXVIII.

William Penn being the head of that party—p. 84.

The influence of Penn in the Court of James II., as well as his love of liberty, and his sufferings on account of it, are well known. No doubt can be entertained of his sincerity and disinterestedness in leading the party which acknowledged James's tolerating conduct on the occasion referred to by Kiffin. His speech to the king, when he presented the address from the Quakers is very excellent; and on the supposition of his majesty's sincerity, very appropriate. I copy it from Sewell's history of the Quakers, (p. 606) as worthy of remembrance, for its liberal and enlightened sentiments, and its manly avowal of them.

"MAY IT PLEASE THE KING,

"It was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews, in case of tribute, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.* As this distinction ought to be observed by all men, in the conduct of their lives, so the king has given us an illustrious example in his own person, that excites us to it; for while HE was a subject, he gave *Cæsar* his tribute; and now he is a Cæsar, gives God his due; viz. the sovereignty over conscience. It were a great shame then, for any Englishman, that pretends to Christianity, not to give GOD his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the king in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle, that has good nature, christianity, and the goodness of civil society on its side—a security beyond all the little arts of government.

"I would not that any should think that we came hither to fill the gazette with our thanks: but as our *sufferings* would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder, if we were not moved to *gratitude.*

"Now since the king's mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the kingdom of Eng-

land and Principality of Wales; our general assembly from all those parts met at London, about our *church affairs*, has appointed us to wait upon the king, with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do by this address, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject."

James received this speech, and the accompanying address, with all the grace of which he was capable, and replied (with how little sincerity was soon shewn) as follows.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I thank you for your address. Some of you know, (I am sure Mr Penn you do,) that it was always my principle, that conscience ought not to be forced; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. And what I have promised in my declaration, I will continue to perform, as long as I live; and I hope before I die to settle it so, that after ages shall have no reason to alter it."

NOTE XXXIX.

A commission from the King to be one of the Aldermen of the City—p. 85.

Kiffin does not mention his interview with James on this occasion. A short account of it is given by Mr Luson, one of his family, and is preserved by Noble.

" Kiffin was personally known both to Charles and James; and when the latter of these princes, after having arbitrarily deprived the city of the old charter, determined to put many of the dissenters into the magistracy; under the rose, he sent for Kiffin to attend him at Court. When he went thither in obedience to the king's command, he found many lords and gentlemen. The king immediately came up to him, and addressed him with all the little grace he was master of. He talked of 'his favour to the dissenters,' in the court stile of the season, and concluded with telling Kiffin, 'he had put him down as an alderman in his new charter.' 'Sire,' replied Kiffin, 'I am a very old man, and have withdrawn myself from all kind of business for some years past, and am incapable of doing any service in such an affair, to your majesty or the city—Besides, Sir,' the old man went on, fixing his eyes steadfastly upon the king, while the tears ran down his cheeks, 'the death of my grandsons, gave a wound to my heart, which is still bleeding, and never will close, but in the grave!' "

" The king was deeply struck by the manner, the freedom, and the spirit of this unexpected rebuke. A total silence ensued, while the galled countenance of James seemed to shrink from the horrid remembrance. In a minute or two, however, he recovered himself enough to say, 'Mr Kiffin, I shall

find a balsam for that sore,' and immediately turned about to a lord in waiting.

"A stroke equally unexpected, and equally deserved, this unfeeling monarch received, at an extraordinary council, which he called soon after the landing of the Prince of Orange; when amidst the silent company he applied himself to the Earl of Bedford, father to the executed Lord Russell, saying, 'My lord, you are a good man, and have great influence; you can do much for me at this time;' to which the Earl replied, 'I am an old man, and can do but little;' then added with a sigh, 'I had once a son, who could now have been very serviceable to your majesty;' which words, says Echard, struck the king half dead with silence and confusion.'"

"It is said that king Charles at one time, when much in want of money, sent to Mr Kiffin, requesting the loan of *forty thousand pounds*. Kiffin excused himself by declaring, that he had not such a sum; but that if it would be of service to his majesty, he would present him with ten thousand. It was accepted of course; and Kiffin used to say, that by giving ten, he had saved thirty thousand. This perhaps partly accounts for the favour which he enjoyed at court."—CROSBY, Vol. III. p. 4.

NOTE XL.

Mr Kiffin appears after this to have lived in

quietness, and the enjoyment of much respect. I know little more of him, except the following anecdote, illustrative of his wealth, and his truly Christian benevolence.

"When the French Protestants were driven to England for refuge, William Kiffin received into his protection, a numerous French family of considerable rank. He fitted up and furnished a house of his own for their reception, provided them with servants, and entirely maintained them at his own expense, in a manner which bore some proportion to their rank in France; and when this family afterwards recovered some part of their ruined fortune, he would not diminish it a single shilling, by taking any retribution for the services he had done them. Such were the *city patriots* of those times!"

NOBLE, Vol. II. p. 357.

He died on the 29th December, 1701, in the 86th year of his age; "being great among the Baptists, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed." He was buried in Bunhill-Fields, and a tomb-stone erected over his grave, on which was the following inscription, given in Strype's edition of Stow's Survey of London. The third line is evidently Strype's own insertion.

WILLIAM KIFFIN,
Eldest Son of William Kiffin of London, Merchant,
(And an Anabaptist Preacher)
Died in the Lord, August the 31st, 1669,
in the 21st year of his age.

Also,
PRISCILLA LIDDEL,
Wife of Robert Liddel,
And Daughter of William Kiffin,
Who fell asleep in the Lord, March 15, 1679,
Aged 24.

And
HANNA, late Wife of William Kiffin,
And Mother to the above-named William and Priscilla,
Who fell asleep in the Lord, the 6th of October, 1682,
In the 67th year of her age.

And
HARRY KIFFIN,
Son of the above-said William Kiffin,
Dec. 8, 1698, aged 44.

Also,
HENRIETTA, late Wife of John Catcher,
Aug. 15, 1698, Aged 22.

And
WILLIAM KIFFIN, the Elder,
Of London, Merchant,
Husband to the above-said Hanna,
And Father to the above-said William, Harry, and Priscilla,
Dec. 29, 1701,
In the 86th year of his age.

Lately Published,

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS & RELIGIOUS CONNEXIONS OF JOHN OWEN, D. D.

Vice Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Christ-Church, during the Commonwealth,

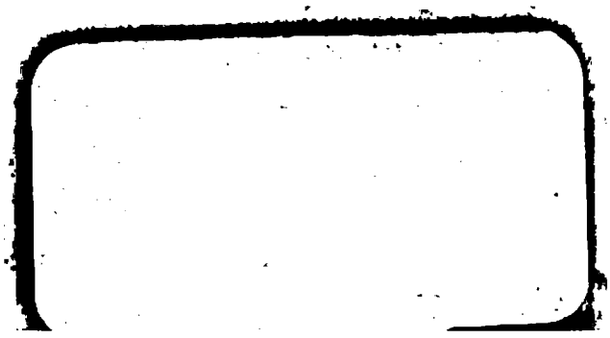
BY WILLIAM ORME.

8vo. with a fine Portrait of Dr. OWEN.—12*s.*

In the course of this year, will be published by the same author,

BIBLIOTHECA BIBLICA;

A SELECT CRITICAL CATALOGUE OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLICAL LITERATURE; CONTAINING BRIEF NOTICES OF THE AUTHORS, AND REMARKS ON THE BOOKS.

ERRATUM.

INTRODUCTION, p. xiv, 7th line from the bottom, for *matchless* read *watchful*.